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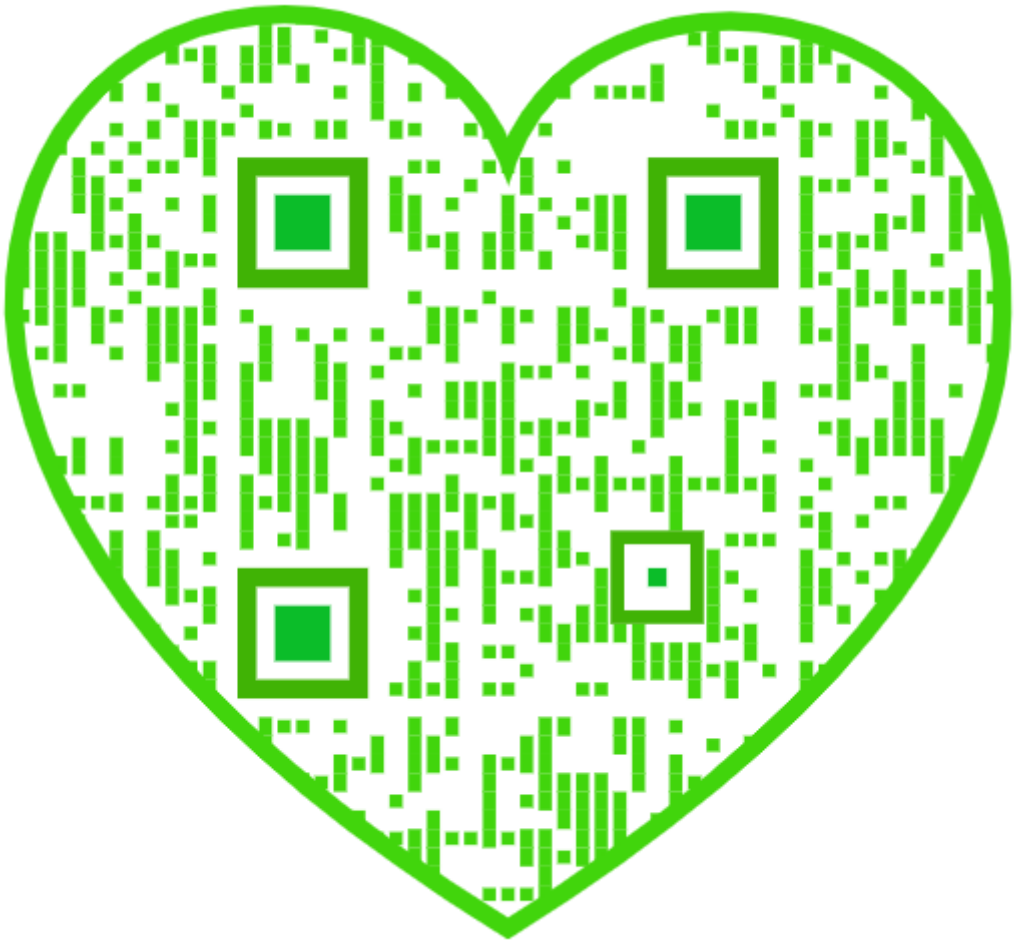

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All submissions are blind refereed by three readers, and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author has included a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussions of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, or suggestions for future research. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism*, or to propose a book for review, should contact Professor Nancy Roberts, Book Review Editor, *American Journalism*, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

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FROM THE EDITOR •

CONVERSATION IS the real public work of scholarship. In our talk we call forth that society of tolerance and mutual respect in which we hope to dwell. With friends at conventions, with students in the cafeteria, with our own thoughts in the midnight hour—through such work we enact the self-reflective lives we hope to lead.

Sometimes we don't stop long enough to speak, however. We measure out our lives in books and articles and count out conversation as a wasteful, undisciplined, frivolous, dissipating pleasure. We spend our words in private, imagining readers we will never meet, anxiously anticipating the flattery we take to be our due.

But in our best moments we give ourselves over to one another without regret. The new Research Notes section in *American Journalism* aims to continue just such conversations. Like our talk, these notes will range over many topics—our work in progress, our collective state of mind, our methods and resources, our doubts and hopes. In such essays writers and readers alike may hear themselves speak, and discover the ties that bind them.

With this new volume *American Journalism* welcomes a new group of editors. Nancy Roberts, of the University of Minnesota, takes over as book review editor, and Pamela Brown, of Rider College, as one of the associate editors. Gary Whitby, out of gentlemanly duty and a sense of pity for the new editor, has agreed to serve one more year as associate editor.

– J.P.

TRUTH VERSUS GOOD DESCRIPTION

CAN TRUTH BE a liability of good journalism? Doesn't a standard of "good description" actually prevail, for which truth is not always a necessary condition? And isn't this standard ethically acceptable?

These are questions this essay addresses. The discussion revolves around journalism and philosophy, but I hope to make the discussion relevant to history. Historians, like journalists, have always chosen to be less truthful than it is possible to be.

Bring up the problem of truth with a journalist, and the talk is likely to turn sanctimonious. The issue of truth typically is dominated by questions of truthtelling—the avoidance of deception—rather than difficulties in reporting observations. Deliberate, deceptive falsification in journalism is recognized universally as a violation of truth in both an ethical and descriptive sense. But it can be argued that truth as a judgment of factual "correctness" is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition of all good descriptive statements. "Good" description as a portrait of reality can violate truth as a standard. In journalism, it often does so. Indeed, under some circumstances, it must always do so.

What are the concepts of truth and good description all about as ideals of observation, and what is their connection? Philosopher Amartya Sen suggests that as absolute standards they converge as reality seen and described in a straightforward manner. But Sen goes on to explain that in practice the ideals diverge. Truth remains the absolute philosophical standard of perfection, but good description becomes relative to human situations. Good description is a standard of what is possible and feasible under the multiple conditions of observation and reporting. Sen distinguishes between ideal good description (the best depiction of something) and good description (the best depiction of something *to give*, making the best of a situation in practice). It is the latter criterion that prevails in descriptive activity, from the sciences to journalism.

Sen raises the pertinent question directly: How can a false description be good? Writing primarily in terms of economics, he describes two basic instances. The first involves departures from literal truth, such as approximations, metaphors, and simplifications. These are fundamental contingencies of understanding—of thinking itself—and all are deviations from literal truth, although it can be said that they contribute to a more comprehensive sense of truth. What this ambiguity about truth manifests is a paradox: literal truth is violated for a general truth. A kind of fiction becomes necessary for a certain kind of generalized fact.

Contemplating this condition of description is a little like trying to imagine a conversation between certain characters found in *Gulliver's Travels*. At the Grand Academy of Lagado, it was believed that words could be abolished and replaced with objects carried about in pockets and bundles and held up to communicate. In contrast to this literal objectivity, inhabitants of Laputa drew upon mathematics and music to converse, communicating with rhombs and ellipses, notes and tones. The nature of good description lies somewhere in between.

Sen's second instance of good but false description is more involved. "Descriptions may have objectives the pursuit of which can be helped by departures from truth—even in the broad sense," he writes in *Choice, Welfare and Measurement* (1982). Although descriptive statements can be distinguished from other categories of declarative expressions, such as predictive and prescriptive

pronouncements, description can be *motivated* by concerns such as prediction and prescription.

Sen relates how this occurs in economics. Utility theory, for example, assumes a highly rationalistic model of human behavior in order to describe the marketplace in terms of self-interest. This model distorts human nature, but offers a useful depiction for predictive economics. In prescriptive economics, the concern with social problem-solving demands that other conditions be met. Economists have to define poverty in terms of socially held values and political goals, while at the same time avoiding labels thought demeaning for describing people. Calling America's poor "disadvantaged," for example, incorporates a prescriptive ideology of opportunity. Gandhi attempted to raise the prospects of India's "untouchables" by calling them "Harijan," or "children of God." Many such descriptions are artificial, but they are not meaningless in characterizing the world, even if they rely on a flexible notion of truth.

Sen criticizes economic description for being too limited in its motivating interests. One such motivation that looms large in journalism is the need to communicate effectively. Philosopher M.A. Slote uses the biblical story of Jonah to illustrate the problem. He raises the question whether a storyteller is bound to report that Jonah was swallowed by a fish, or may the storyteller substitute the more impressive notion of a whale. For some audiences, the meaning of the story is not distorted but enhanced. For others the story is made inaccurate, even as fantasy. Credibility is moved in either direction by the substitution. The storyteller must fathom the depth of the listener's comprehension and weigh the listener's own criteria of meaning before making a decision about good description. The effort is made by every kind of storyteller, including the journalist, who wishes to communicate essential meaning.

Likewise, the imperative of journalism to be current and timely even though it may result in reporting some false observations may be attributed to a particular ideal of efficient communication. Timeliness practiced too extensively and exclusively may lead journalists to needless distortion through haste. But the news story can still offer good description within its own time-bound limitations, much as a good haiku or sonnet can express a poetic vision of reality despite its self-imposed space limitations.

A similar argument on the motivation to communicate can be made about what Sen calls "stylized facts," summary statements that project general observations which do not exactly fit the specifics of individual cases, or precisely account for all cases. Such summaries abound in the social sciences as hypothetical constructs, ideal types, or simply as descriptive shorthand. In journalism, they may be found as composites and less formal attempts at representational description, summarizing and drawing attention to important characteristics or prevalent details. Sen writes for his own field: "There is no reason why descriptive statements in economics have to aspire after mechanical accuracy even when it conflicts with comprehension and absorption." Deception, of course, raises an ethical issue. But deception is not necessary if intent and method of portrayal are part of the description. This should be the case for everything representational, such as polling results used by the press to represent public opinion, a common form of stylized fact. Sen rightfully reminds us to be cautious in the practice of stylized description. It should never be confused with achieving the best description of anything—only, perhaps, the best to be offered under some limiting circumstances.

Another complexity of truth is that often it is not simply real, but realizable. A good journalist with integrity can explore the probable or the possible reality of a situation with storytelling that asks readers to imagine the implication of a profusion of observations. Sharon and James Murphy argue that this inventiveness is not an

ethical shortcoming, but a "rediscovery of moral journalism" in the highest sense.

This essay has argued that truth does not actually prevail as the priority of a news story, but is incorporated as an element—still extremely important—of a more practical standard of good description. A number of contingencies can affect the literal truthfulness of reporting observations—some inherent in the human condition and perhaps in the paradoxical nature of truth itself. But some conditions are met *willingly* to achieve objectives not considered subordinate to complete truthfulness. Good description can be a legitimate standard without undue ethical problems, in journalism as in other fields. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine journalists conscientiously reporting the social world—communicating in it at the same time and dealing with the ways it describes itself—without being more modest about their expectations of mirroring truth.

There is a lesson here about writing history as well. But I want to close with another kind of historical application. In terms of motivation, it would appear that journalism in this country has been richly influenced by a tradition of prescriptive mission. The world depicted by journalism is not just the realm of spectacle where "pure" news might be equated with description by disinterested onlookers. News—how it is identified, gathered and expressed—reflects an impulse to bring events into a forum so that they may be publicly accounted for. The press traditionally has sought to make itself—and us—bear the responsibility of being witnesses rather than merely onlookers.

In this activity, journalists have been intricately involved in the social process of turning unweighted, empirical conditions into "facts" of injustice, crises of power, and problems of authority. This engagement accounts for much of the self-righteous zeal of journalism, as Thomas Leonard suggests in *The Power of the Press* (1986), and explains why truth as an ideal evokes both reverence and misunderstanding. Journalism's professed commitment to "disinterested realism," in Lippmann's characterization, is sincere, but also only tactical. It reflects one view of the culture's contemporary sense of what kind of convincing evidence is required of the press for a good description of things, for a good argument on which to take a stand and act.

The prescriptive motivation I have described is situational. It may well be in decline as a contingency shaping how "truth" is described by the press, just as the nature of credibility and critical evidence are culturally determined. Instead we may be allowing the press to gather us more and more as spectators, passively curious but easily made impatient, restless to shuffle along. At some point not even a press deeply self-conscious of what truth can mean will be able to call us back for a more meaningful second look.

. . . *Douglas Birkhead*
University of Utah

●

GREAT WALLS: BARRIERS TO DOING RESEARCH IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

I SPENT THE 1988–89 academic year on sabbatical as a foreign expert in the Chinese Department of Liaoning University, Shenyang, People's Republic of China. In addition to teaching classes in theories of Western journalism and Western literature, I was expected to serve as a consultant to faculty and students, an editor for faculty publications in translation, and a representative (read showpiece) of the department at formal functions, and to do research on some aspect of the media in China.

I experienced many interesting situations in teaching, consulting, editing, and being a showpiece, but those are other stories. The ones I'd like to share here are those encountered in conducting my research on how the United States is portrayed in Chinese newspapers.

Now, to fully appreciate the situation, you have to remember all the times you have, in the course of

conducting research, complained about your library. If you are lucky (or talented) enough to work at one of those citadels of higher education that put their libraries so high on their list of priorities that you never have a complaint, then some, but not all, of the effect of what follows will be lost on you.

I love my university, and would not consider leaving it, but frankly, it's not one of those aforementioned citadels, and our library leaves something to be desired. In fact (and I admit it freely) there have been times when even I (epitome of patience that I am) have complained that some desperate need is unmet. Never again.

You see, in the United States, librarians are taught that their main objective is to help people find information. Not all of them do that as well as we might like, but at least they are operating from that basic mindset. Not so in China.

In China, librarians—many of whom were promoted to their positions directly from peasanthood during the Cultural Revolution (do not pass school; do not study librarianship)—have been told by those who placed them in their positions (positions eminently more desirable than peasanthood, incidentally) that their primary objective is to protect the holdings of the library.

You cannot really blame the Chinese for this attitude. They have very little foreign exchange with which to purchase new materials, and they have had little more than a decade to restock hundreds of thousands of books that were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Motivation aside, however, the result makes it very difficult to carry on research.

Think about it—if you were charged with protecting books, what would be the single best way for you to do that. Of course—you wouldn't lend them out. If it only took you a few seconds to figure that out, you can bet Chinese librarians have, as well. So, what has become an expectation for Chinese scholars, was a complete surprise to me when I began my research.

Not for long, however; I'm a smart lad, and all it took was the following scenario (heightened for effect, but essentially the same) for me to understand. The names have been changed to protect all concerned.

Me: I'd like to borrow the book *How the United States Is Portrayed in the Newspapers of the People's Republic of China.*

Yu: I'm sorry, we don't have that book.

Me: But I can see it on the shelf behind you.

Yu: (turns; looks; turns back) No, I'm sorry, that's not it.

Me: But I can see the title on it.

Yu: (no turn this time) No, I'm sorry, that's not it. We don't have that book.

Having learned my lesson (smart lad, remember), I made alternative arrangements when it came time to gather data for a content analysis of *China Daily*. The Foreign Languages Department had an English reading room with back copies of *China Daily*, so I got permission to use their copies for my research. I was analyzing every eighth issue from 1988, so anytime I had a couple of hours free, I went there and collected data from more issues.

All went well for a couple of months. Then one day, finding I had some free time, I went to the reading room, spoke to the woman responsible for their material, and walked straight to the place where the 1988 issues of *China Daily* were stored. They were gone.

Me: (with a note of urgency) The *China Daily*s for 1988 are missing!

Wu: (infuriatingly calm) Yes.

Me: (with greater urgency) Where are they?

Wu: (calmer; if possible) We sold them.

Me: (use your imagination) Sold them?!

Wu: (calm) Yes. The secretary to the president of the university needed them for insulation in the ceiling of his home.

Me: (disbelief) But you knew I needed them for the research I was doing!

Wu: (calm) Yes.

Me: (here I take some credit for [relatively] graceful acceptance of overwhelming cultural odds) Oh . . .well . . . thank you.

My restraint was rewarded and catastrophe averted when I found the

issues I needed in another department.

Because I don't read Chinese, and four of the papers I was studying were in that language, two of my Chinese colleagues gathered the necessary data from those papers. They decided to try the library first, and we were pleasantly surprised when they were allowed access to the necessary issues.

One day one of my research assistants came to my office with some good and some bad news. The good news was that he had finished gathering data from his two papers for the first half of 1988. The bad news was that the librarians had taken those papers for the last half of the year off the "open" shelves and would not allow him access to them. I asked what we could do about it, and he said that if I came with him, and presented my official card to the librarian, she might relent.

It was during the next hour that I learned that "no" in China (given the right conditions) doesn't exactly mean "no." It went like this: We found the proper librarian (not an easy task, given the fact that there are hundreds, each with immutable power over his or her own minute area of responsibility), and presented her with my "official" card—my business card, in English on one side, and Chinese on the other. She scrutinized it, and my assistant informed her that 1) I was a very important "vice president of journalism" from the United States, 2) I was working with the "high-level administration" of her university on a joint research project, and 3) the papers in question (which we could literally see through the door on a shelf in the room behind her) were vital to the success of the project. She said "no."

My assistant spent the next ten minutes making small talk about her children, and the "no" became "maybe." After ten minutes of talk about my children (I knew despite my lack of fluency, because at one point he called on me to exhibit their pictures [she was appropriately impressed]), the "maybe" became "probably." After ten more minutes of talk (my assistant never admitted it, but I think it was about his soon-to-be family), the "probably" became "yes." The librarian brought the papers out, and the "top-level, joint research project" continued.

I came to understand this strange, time-consuming process, but I never really got the hang of it: one more piece of evidence that I really am a child of Western parents, and not adopted from the Orient.

All went well for two days; then my other assistant came to my office to tell me that he had some good news and some bad news. Same story; same librarian; other two papers. Astonishingly, ransoming these papers required the same process. She looked at my "official" card as though it were the first time she had seen such a thing. This time the "no"/"yes" mutation didn't take quite as long.

Given the problems so far recounted, it seems almost petty to mention that some of the things we count on in doing research "back home" aren't as readily available in China—like electricity, for example. Rather than conduct statistical analysis when it fit most conveniently into my schedule, I got used to the idea that I dropped other work and did it when I had electricity to run my computer. Because the electricity (when it came at all) came in "chunks," with large surges and slumps, I had to take with me two expensive and very heavy transformers to ensure that my computer would not be fried, and that I would not lose data in the middle of an operation.

Another taken-for-granted facility that I quickly learned to do without was photocopying. There were very few copiers available on campus, and time on those had to be reserved far in advance. What the Chinese often did instead was silk screen. I saw a worker one day who was in the process of making 150 copies of a twenty-five-page document; he was screening them one page at a time—put in a blank sheet of paper, close the frame, run the roller back and forth to coat it with ink, roll it on the screen to squeeze ink through onto the paper,

open the frame, take out the paper—over, and over, and over. Think about that the next time you have trouble getting the exposure just right on the photocopy machine.

At any rate, we are an adaptable species. It was my intent, after statistically treating my data and composing a list of questions based on the findings, to put those questions to the editors of the papers studied. I had made appointments with them for the first week in June, but they were unable to keep those appointments. By that time, because of their support of the "democracy movement," they were either dead, imprisoned, or fired.

Moral: Most of our research problems, taken in perspective, probably aren't as critical as we might at first think.

. . . Roy E. Blackwood
Bemidji State University

●

COVERING COLD FUSION: CORNELL UNIVERSITY'S COLD FUSION ARCHIVE

WHEN THE MEDIA circus called cold fusion started in the spring of 1989, I was teaching a course on how to study "popular science." Once a science journalist, I am now a historian of American science, with a particular interest in the public understanding of science. Thus it was natural that I began to collect cold fusion clips, call my science journalist friends, and collect information to challenge my students on how they might study the cold fusion debate.

But the mass media perspective on cold fusion was not the only one. Two sociologist colleagues of mine, Thomas F. Gieryn (Indiana University) and William Dougan (UCLA) were downloading electronic bulletin board messages about cold fusion from a nationwide computer network. From their viewpoint, cold fusion was a wonderful case study in how scientists communicate among themselves (as opposed to "with the public").

We soon realized that our combined resources might be unique. The National Science Foundation agreed, and early in the summer provided us with a small grant ($7,500 direct costs) to create a Cold Fusion Archive. In this article, I will describe the archive and suggest some issues that it raises for journalism and communication historians.

The Cornell Cold Fusion Archive consists of material that we have collected from the published literature, in telephone and personal interviews, and in trips to various laboratories, newspapers, and other media outlets. In addition, various participants in cold fusion, including scientists, administrators, public information people, journalists, and others, have sent us material from their own files.

We think about the material as falling into four broad categories (although the actual "series" that we will use in the final archive will vary slightly). The categories, more fully described in Table 1, are as follows: published material, electronic communication, "manuscript" material, and interviews. This range of material clearly poses problems in terms of how to arrange it, how to create finding aids, and ultimately how to use it.

As historians, we are trained to take records as we find them. If our subject filed paper chronologically, so be it. If he or she kept a scrapbook, we glean what we can from it. If a nonindexed newspaper's coverage interests us, we scan thousands of pages of fading print on yellowing paper to find our data. Indeed, a fundamental archival tenet is to leave an archive as its creator organized it. (For an introduction to issues and techniques in archiving, see the various manuals and publications distributed by the Society of American Archivists. One publication particularly useful for this project has been Joan K. Haas et al., *Appraising the Records of Modern Science And Technology: A Guide* [1985].)

But in the case of cold fusion, we are actively creating the archive; it would not exist without our intervention. What, then, is its proper arrangement?

For example: One key form of scientific communication is the preprint—a scientific paper that is cir-

Table 1
Materials in Cornell's Cold Fusion Archive

I. "Published" material[1]
  A. Mass media (print, radio, television)
  B. Traditional scientific publications (abstracts, preprints, journal articles)
II. Electronic communication
  A. USENET bulletin boards[2]
  B. Electronic mail[3]
  C. Traditional journalism[4]
III. "Manuscript" material
  A. Letters
  B. Laboratory notebooks[5]
  C. Seminar notes[6]
  D. Overheads[7]
  E. Audio/video of seminars, hearings, and press conferences[8]
  F. Material culture[9]
IV. Interviews[10]
  A. Researchers
  B. Research administrators
  C. Journalists/Public Information Officers

[1] We are defining "published" in modern terms, in the sense that radio and television count. We are being a bit old-fashioned, in that electronic (computer) publication does not count. Items in this category are in their "traditional" forms: printed on paper, or recorded on audio or video tape.
[2] This was (and, as I write, still is) the main site of electronic scientific forums on cold fusion.
[3] Unlike electronic bulletin boards, which are intended for public reading, electronic mail is analogous to traditional correspondence between individuals.
[4] In a few cases, we have electronic copies of mass media articles, which various people downloaded from electronic databases.
[5] This is the true "raw" data of science; though much of it is unintelligible to anyone outside the particular lab where it was created, it provides the original historical material against which all else in science must be tested.
[6] This includes both notes that people took at seminars and notes that people prepared for seminar talks they were giving.
[7] Many scientists don't prepare texts for their talks, but do prepare copies of overhead transparencies, which they pass out for seminar attendees to write notes on.
[8] Unlike the tapes of radio and television shows, this material is "raw" data for the journalism historian—unprocessed material that was later used by journalists.
[9] Included in this category are t-shirts, hats, and do-it-yourself kits.
[10] These are taped interviews, ranging from fifteen minutes to three hours, conducted by me and my colleagues using sets of questions that delve deeply into issues of science communication. At this time, we do not have plans (or, more important, funds) for creating transcripts of these interviews.

culated in mimeo or photocopy form to hundreds of scientists well before the actual publication comes out. Should we file a preprint under the name of the author, documenting his or her ideas? Or should we file it with other pieces of paper from our particular sources, so that historians can tell to what ideas those other scientists had access (thus documenting the reception of information, one of the more difficult stages of communication to study historically)?

Or: Should we file our mass media clips chronologically? By publication? What about the clipping collections put together by organizations such as the American Chemical Society and Texas A&M University? These collections sometimes overlap the clips we've gotten from other sources. Should we try to avoid duplication or should we accept it, again on the principle of keeping individual parts of our collection as near as possible to the state in which they originally existed?

And, most troubling: What to do with our 12–15 megabytes of electronic communication, currently held in a box of floppy disks. Archivists tell horror stories of computerized records rendered unusable because the technology for reading them has become obsolete and unavailable. But to print out the text would create thousands of pages of complex data, at the same time losing the ability to manipulate the records electronically. The

records are of a new kind in the history of communication. What are we to do with them?

Some of these questions we have answered, with the advice of several seasoned archivists. For example, we will organize the clips chronologically. Using a straightforward database management program, however, we will also be able to include in the finding aid indexes organized by publication, author, and even broad topic areas.

Some types of publications will get their own files. Because of the importance of scientific papers and preprints, we will pull them from the chronological files and give them their own folder. Again, we will use database programs to create lists showing users the provenance of each document.

One media type that will get its own folder, but no associated pointer file, is the cartoon (nearly seventy-five of them now, and still climbing). It's just a little too far-fetched to think that some historian is going to want to know who among our sources saw which cartoon!

As I write this in mid-November 1989, however, we still haven't solved the electronic communication conundrum.

All of these issues of archival organization are—excuse the expression—merely of academic interest if one does not consider the cold fusion saga worthy of study. As one of my sources said to me, "If none of this is true, who's going to care about the history of it?"

Certainly historians of journalism, of communication, of science, and of popular culture will find much to interest them. Pulled together in one place will be a host of interrelated records: articles, interviews with the authors of those articles, commentary from the subjects of those articles, plus the background material on which the articles were based. In several cases we have videotapes, audiotapes, or transcripts of the press conferences from which coverage emerged.

The electronic archive will provide opportunities for scholars interested in this new form of communication; since many computer messages consist of transcripts, summaries, or critiques of mass media articles, some researchers may wish to examine the reception of media stories and the interaction among different media.

Even the cartoons will provide a resource. What themes emerge from the cartoons about the role of science in society? About the image of scientists in the mass media? About competition among scientists? Are there similarities between themes in the cartoons and those on the other elements of material culture in the archives?

To many scientists—and quite a few journalists—cold fusion is still very much a live issue. Does that mean that I'm fooling myself—and deceiving others—to call the Cold Fusion Archive a resource for journalism *historians*?

I don't think so. If we take seriously the idea that scientists and journalists "construct" reality by their choice of topics to research and write about, then it's crucial for us to document that process as it's happening, before it gets "re-constructed." Though the research that one can conduct now from the archive may be only a form of analytical journalism, future historians of science—and journalism—will have access to the kinds of ephemeral materials most historians can only dream about.

I invite your inquiries.

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. . . *Bruce V. Lewenstein*
Cornell University

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RICHARD HARDING DAVIS AND THE BOER WAR

A Famous Reporter Sees Chivalry Die in South Africa

John C. Bromley

THE BEST OF RICHARD HARDING DAVIS's writing has, as Thomas Beer suggested it would, a "second use" as history.[1] Often by the degree to which his emotions, powerful and easily stirred, were engaged, Davis created memorable portraits of people and events. If the major flaw of his writing was his persistent manufacture of chivalric romance, its great strength was his mastery of detail. Both are present in abundance in his accounts of the Boer War.

Davis covered the war only from February 1900 to the following June, the period in which the brief Boer ascendency was ended. What Davis knew of the war's causes he had learned from the conversations and very modest research that had gone into his brief, pro-British account of the Jameson Raid, the booklet he called *Dr. Jameson's Raiders vs. the Johannesberg Reformers*.[2] Once in South Africa for the Boer War, however, Davis was repelled by the British army and its leaders, and he came extravagantly to admire the same Boers whom he had denounced as backward and tyrannical in 1897. He became little more than a Boer propagandist, his sympathy roused by the specter of Boer defeat. By the end of his stay his reporting had become secondary to the fury with which he argued the Boer case against the British.

The origins of his Boer War partisanship, as well as his colorful recording of the scenes through which he passed, are the subjects of this study.

The first part of Davis's South African adventure had been a completely conventional assignment to the headquarters and staff of General Sir Redvers Buller, recently superseded but not yet relieved by Lord Roberts and his Chief of Staff Lord

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1. Thomas Beer, "Richard Harding Davis," *Liberty* 1 (1924): 21.
2. Richard Harding Davis, *Dr. Jameson's Raiders vs. the Johannesburg Reformers* (New York: Russell, 1897).

Kitchener.[3] Buller was assigned to lift the Boer siege of Ladysmith. Davis joined Buller's column after a string of defeats, but he was there to see Buller rescue Sir George White's besieged, weakened garrison in Ladysmith on 27 February 1900.[4]

Davis had wanted to be with Roberts and Kitchener rather than with Buller, he wrote his mother on 18 February, but this would have involved the displacement of the *Daily Mail*'s Anglophile Julian Ralph.[5] So he was stuck with Redvers Buller, and Buller with him. At first all went pleasantly: "Buller . . . seemed very pleased to have me. . . . the Censor seems to think I am a sort of Matthew Arnold and should be wrapped in cotton."[6] But, he wrote home moodily, "this is not my war."[7] Davis may have contributed to Buller's irritation by returning salutes meant for the general as he rode with Buller and his staff.[8]

Davis appreciated the great difficulty of relieving Ladysmith. Surveying the rugged area Buller's army had to cross in order to reach the garrison, Davis wrote that the hills were "an eruption . . . linked . . . together without order or sequence. . . . In a ride of half a mile, every hill completely loses its original aspect and character. They hide each other, or disguise each other."[9] Of the Tugela River, the other natural barrier shielding Ladysmith, Davis wrote that it "darts through [the hills] as though striving to escape, it doubles on its tracks. . . . when one says he has crossed the Tugela, he means he has crossed it once at a drift, once at the wrecked railroad bridge and once over a pontoon."[10]

Above this chaos in nature perched the troubled Buller himself. There was about Buller no romance, no chivalry, none of the heady inspiration Theodore Roosevelt had offered in Cuba.[11] "Up on a high hill, sealed among the rocks, is Buller and his staff. . . . Commanding generals to-day, under the new conditions this war has developed, do not charge up hills waving flashing swords."[12] In South Africa, Davis noted, the "commanding general watches the development of his attack, and directs it by heliograph and ragged bits of bunting."[13]

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"They had been forced in on themselves, these British officers [at Ladysmith]. . . . The defenders had not only to keep control of the town. They had to fight a war of attrition, supported by little polo, cricket or champagne, against their own emotions."

– Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War.*

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3. Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (New York: Random House, 1979), 251.
4. Fairfax Downey, *Richard Harding Davis: His Day* (New York: Scribner's, 1933) 179; Pakenham, 379–80.
5. Davis to his mother, 18 February 1900, *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis*, ed. Charles Belmont Davis (New York: Scribner's, 1918), 265.
6. Davis to his mother, 18 February 1900, 266.
7. Davis to his mother, 18 February 1900, 267.
8. Downey, 179.
9. Davis, "With Buller's Column," *Scribner's* 27 (1900): 671. Davis's accounts of the Boer War were published first in the *London Daily Mail* and the *New York Herald*. At the same time Davis was preparing a series of *Scribner's* articles, also published in 1900; the *Scribner's* articles then became the basis for *With Both Armies* (New York: Scribner's, 1900). Reference is made here to the earlier source
10. Davis, "With Buller's Column," 671.
11. Davis and Theodore Roosevelt did not, however, like each other before the war began. See Downey, 150.
12. Davis, "With Buller's Column," 673.
13. Davis, "With Buller's Column," 673.

Davis had seen Buller defeated at Railway Hill, just four days before, on 23 February 1900. Davis described that battle, prophetic of so many in the 1914 war, as "one of those frontal attacks which, in this war, against the new weapons, has added so much to the lists of killed and wounded and to the prestige of the men, while it has, in an inverse ratio, hurt the prestige of the men by whom the attack was ordered."[14] Buller's attack, made at night, had cost the British 600 men.

Davis watched the successful British attack four days later develop on the distant hills, and listened to the weight of the superior British artillery coming to bear: "It seemed inconceivable that anything human could live under such a bombardment."[15] He noted "the mechanical, regular rattle of the quick-firing Maxims, which sounded like the clicking of many mowing-machines on a hot summer's day."[16] At the last moment of the attack, as the Boer trenches on top of the last hill were taken, came the incident he later described to the *Herald* as causing his most acute censorship difficulties: "The last of the three hills was mounted by the West Yorks, who were mistaken by their own artillery for Boers, and fired upon both by Boers and by their own shrapnel and lyddite."[17] Whatever his problems with Buller's censors, Davis's story of the British firing on their own men got out, and appeared on 6 March 1900 in the *New York Herald*.

The difficulties of the force relieving Ladysmith were, as Davis recognized, largely geographical. Referring to the natural defensive barrier of hills that kept Buller out of the city, Davis argued that Ladysmith "should have been sacrificed to the enemy" in order to release its 13,000 troops as well as the 25,000-man relief force for service elsewhere.[18] Here Davis's strategy unconsciously echoed Buller's, who had suggested to London in December 1899 that, because his force was not strong enough to relieve White, the British "ought to let Ladysmith go."[19] Davis, however, incorrectly assumed that White had been ordered to hold Ladysmith against his will.[20] Perhaps Davis did not ask Buller about the causes for the Ladysmith siege, or the general did not permit the question, but in any case Davis never knew that Buller had opposed White's original retreat into Ladysmith, or that the siege, and the events leading to it, reflected so poorly on his hero White.

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"The garrison were disconcerted to find that the Boers refused to conform in their gunnery, as in so many military matters, to any recognizable rules."
– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*
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When Buller finally relieved Ladysmith, Davis was much moved by the conditions he found there. The Boers had permit-

14. Davis, "With Buller's Column," 674.
15. Davis, "With Buller's Column," 674.
16. Davis, "With Buller's Column," 674.
17. Davis, "With Buller's Column," 676.
18. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," *Scribner's* 28 (1900): 39.
19. Pakenham, 249. Buller's suggestion was explored after his Spion Kip defeat and then dropped by the War Office; there were too many men in the town. See Pakenham, 321.
20. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 40.

ted a neutral camp, a settlement area for women, children, the sick, the wounded, and non-combatants, outside of Ladysmith. The Boer artillery, particularly "Long Tom," the heavy gun that terrorized the inhabitants of Ladysmith, made smoke from the muzzle as each shell was fired, so that "sentinels were constantly on watch to look for the smoke and to give the alarm." But the worst hardship of confinement, Davis found, was not Long Tom but the "lack of food and exercise, bad water and life underground [that] soon bred fever" among the inhabitants of Ladysmith. Victims of fever, Davis wrote, "outnumbered those of Long Tom nearly ten to one."[21]

"Even on Christmas Day, Long Tom gave a display of mixed feelings. He fired numerous shells, one of which, when dug up unexploded, proved to contain a Christmas pudding wrapped in a Union Jack, and a note: 'The compliments of the season.'"

– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*

In discussing the hardships of the siege and the difficulties of relieving it, Davis found the central lesson of the fight for Ladysmith to be its demonstration of the new primacy of defense. "Bloch, the authority on modern war, believes that with the new weapons [heavy guns, magazine rifles] a force entrenched on the defensive is to the attacking force as eight men to one."[22] As Davis had reported, Buller had had to learn to attack on the flank, rather than straight ahead, to pry the Boers out of the path to Ladysmith. And to Davis the extended sufferings of the Ladysmith garrison were, like the fact of the siege itself, all Buller's fault. Buller, Davis wrote, has been "too slow."[23] The general reinforced the positions he did manage to take in "so leisurely [a manner] that he allowed the Boers ample time to fortify and enfilade him from another [position]."[24] After Buller's defeat at the Battle of Colenso—a battle Davis did not see—on 6 January 1900, Davis felt Buller had become "sensitive of losing more men, and in order to save life [he] attacked with forces so insufficient in numbers that many men were sacrificed for that reason."[25] As evidence Davis cited the battles at Railway and Hart's Hills on 23 February 1900 and the victory at Pieters Hill four days later:

> Buller's continuous battles demonstrated one thing very clearly, which is that a fortified position may be shelled for half a day with the best gunners without the enemy being driven so far from it that he cannot return to meet a charge of infantry. The time which elapses between . . . when the artillery ceases firing in order to allow the infantry to mount the crest was always sufficiently long to allow the Boers to reoccupy the trenches.[26]

This was to be one of the central lessons of the 1914 war before the advent of the tank. Buller learned it in a matter of weeks, and

21. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 41–2.
22. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 41.
23. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 47.
24. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 47.
25. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 47–48.
26. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 48.

Davis understood it. Buller's eclipse later perhaps prevented his hard-won lesson from achieving the impact on military thought that it deserved.

Davis thought that Buller's entrance into Ladysmith on 4 March 1900 was "one of the most splendidly moving spectacles I have ever witnessed." The scene inspired some of Davis's finest descriptive writing of the Boer War:

> Lancers, foot soldiers, gunners, irregular horse, colonials, blue jackets and Indians, blistered, tanned, caked with mud, covered with blood stains and ragged as sweeps passed for three full hours before General White . . . the emaciated, yellow-faced garrison, whose loose khaki told of weeks of starvation, cheered them in return . . . General Buller's arrival was hailed tumultuously.[27]

The spectacle continued to enchant him several days later:

> Some of the "Tommies," in spite of their fatigue, danced past General White . . . it was a wonderful scene . . . the relieving column, covered with rags and mud, robust and tanned like coast guards, while the men in the lines through which they passed were yellow with fever and cadaverous, some of them scarcely able to stand.[28]

So great was his own emotional reaction that, he wrote his mother, "Winston Churchill and I stood in front of General White and cried for an hour."[29] The sufferings apparent among the besieged at Ladysmith also continued to exercise Davis's great powers of colorful description, as when he met a

> boy officer in stainless khaki and beautifully turned out, polished and burnished and varnished, but with . . . yellow skin and sharpened cheek bones and protruding teeth, a skeleton on horse-back, [who] rode slowly toward us down the hill.[30]

Whatever the theatrical glories of the relief of Ladysmith Davis was bored, angry at the British, frustrated. "This is a beastly dull war," Davis wrote his mother just after Ladysmith was relieved:

> The whole thing is so "class" and full of "form" and tradition. . . . [The British army] is the most wonderful organization I ever imagined but it is like a beautiful locomotive without an engineer. The Boers outplay them in intelligence every day. . . . You would not believe the mistakes they make, the awful way in which they sacrifice the lives of officers and men. . . . I hate all the

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27. Richard Harding Davis, "Ladysmith's Splendid Welcome to Buller," *New York Herald*, 6 March 1900.
28. Richard Harding Davis, "Hearty Cheers for Deliverers," *New York Herald*, 8 March 1900.
29. Davis to his mother, 3 March 1900, *Adventures and Letters*, 272.
30. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 53.

people about me and this dirty town and I wish I was back.[31]

In this mood he had visited Lady Randolph Churchill, with whom he had discussed an article on the hardships of war correspondents: "As it is now the Government forces him [the correspondent] upon the Generals against their will and so they get back by taking it out on him."[32] Even earlier he had written home that "war as these [British] people do it bores one to destruction. They are terrible dull souls. They cannot give an order intelligently. The real test of a soldier is the way he gives an order."[33] This was, indeed, not his war.

So, wretched with the British, Davis decided to go to the Boers. His way to the Boers was eased by the British High Commissioner for South Africa, the Governor of the Cape Colony Sir Alfred Milner.[34] Davis and his wife, who travelled with him, were greeted, he wrote his mother, with "simple earnest courtesy," like that in the welcoming remarks of the first of the Boer commanders he met, Christian DeWet.[35] Under fire for the first time, Cecil Davis earned her husband's ungrudging admiration: "she refused to be impressed with the danger."[36]

Once with the Boers, Davis became virtually a pro-Boer propagandist. He had earlier, for instance, estimated the British preponderance of force as ranging from a ratio of "two to one up to four to one."[37] Once among the Boers, he convinced himself that the odds against them had somehow lengthened. "I am convinced," he argued in *Scribner's*, "that throughout the war one man to ten has been the average proportion of Boer to Briton, and that frequently the British have been repulsed [sic] when their force outnumbered that of the Boers twenty to one."[38] This new arithmetic was not the result of new estimates of actual forces counted in new battles, for he had seen none. Rather he was gripped by a new passion.

In Pretoria Davis had met the Boer president of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, and Davis's objectivity, never strong, had fallen victim to Kruger's powerful personality. Earlier, in Cuba, he had fallen in the same way under Theodore Roosevelt's influence. "Paul Kruger," Davis wrote, was "possibly . . . the man of the greatest interest in the world today, a man [who] will probably rank as a statesman with Lincoln, Bismark and Gladstone," yet

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"[The hospitals at Ladysmith] handled a total of 10,688 cases—out of 13,500 soldiers—during the four months between November and the end of February; 551 people died of disease in that period."

– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*

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31. Davis to his mother, 4 March 1900, *Adventures and Letters*, 273.
32. Davis to Lady Randolph Churchill, 15 March 1900, *Adventures and Letters*, 277.
33. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 40.
34. Davis, "What 'Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men' Really Means," *New York Herald*, 8 July 1900.
35. Davis to his mother, 18 May 1900, *Adventures and Letters*, 286.
36. Davis to his mother, 18 May 1900, 287.
37. Davis, "The Relief of Ladysmith," 47.
38. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," *Scribner's* 28 (1900): 175.

who lives "as simply as a village lawyer."[39] Kruger reminded Davis of Grover Cleveland. Both leaders, he noted, had "a strangely similar energy in speaking," the same

> impressiveness of their build and size which seems fitting with a big mind and strong will. . . . resolution, enormous will-power, and a supreme courage of conviction are the qualities in both which [after] you have left them are still upper-most in your memory.[40]

Kruger was to Davis a patriarch, an Old Testament prophet. To the news that gold had been discovered in South Africa years before, at a time of strained credit when gold meant solvency, Davis has Kruger reply: "'Gold! Do you know what gold is? For every ounce of that gold you will pay with a tear of blood. Go to your farm and read the Book. It will tell you what gold is.'"[41]

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"At seventy-three [Kruger] was a national monument in his own lifetime, a heroic survival from the Great Trek."
– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*
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To Davis Kruger was the central image of the Boer resistance. His rich, exotic portrait of Kruger is one he never surpassed:

> His eyes held no expression, but were like those in a jade idol. His whole face, chiefly, I think, because of the eyes, was like a heavy waxen mask. In speaking, his lips moved and most violently, but every other feature of his face remained absolutely set. In his ears he wore little gold rings, and his eyes, which were red and seared with some disease, were protected from the light by great gold-rimmed spectacles of dark glass with wire screens.[42]

Davis first saw Kruger when he was speaking to a group of Irish-Americans who, hating the British, had come to aid the Boers; Kruger "instructed them, much as a father talking to a group of school-boys." Kruger's lesson for these volunteers was that "the cause for which they had come to fight was one upon which the Lord had looked with favor; and . . . even though they died in this war they must feel that they were acting as His servants and had died in His service."[43]

This very Biblical imagery at length became Davis's own. Davis increasingly saw the Boer War as a combat between gallant Boer knights and the brutal, more modern power of the British Empire. It was at this point that he described the British Army in the powerful, contemptuous images that came so easily to him, as "like the children of Israel in number, like Tammany Hall in organization and discipline."[44] "As I see it," he wrote at the end of his last installment for *Scribner's*, "it [the Boer War] has been a Holy War, this war of the burgher crusader, and

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39. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," 176. The comparison to other national leaders was edited out of his Boer War book. See *With Both Armies*, 140.
40. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," 179.
41. Davis, "The Boer in the Field," *New York Herald*, 8 July 1900.
42. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," 178.
43. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," 177.
44. Davis, "The Boer in the Field," *New York Herald*, 8 July 1900.

[the Boer's] motives are as fine as any that ever called a 'minute man' from his farm or sent a knight of the Cross to die for it in Palestine."[45] He had, in the same article, contrasted the regular soldier with the Boer irregular, much to the disadvantage of the regular:

> I knew as the train carried us away from the sight of them that no soldier in pipe-clay, gauntlets, and gold lace would ever again mean to me what these burghers meant, these long-bearded, strong-eyed Boers with their drooping cavalier hats, their bristling bands of cartridges, their upright seat in the saddle and the rifle rising above them like the lance of the crusader.[46]

At first, when with the British, he had seen the Boer only as an enemy, and from far away. Close up, the Boers and their cause stirred him, calling forth his descriptive powers.

With Kruger, Davis quickly became little more than an errand boy. Under Kruger's influence Davis's modest impartiality was sacrificed to his sense of Kruger's, and the Boer, mission. Davis's shifting allegiances were apparent, for instance, in his story about the British prisoners held in Pretoria. In what his biographer Fairfax Downey called "the most unluckly despatch Davis ever wrote," Davis found the conduct of English officers held by the Boers to be reprehensible, beyond excuse.[47] Even their status as prisoners angered Davis; when the prisoners were rude to his Boer escort, he wrote angrily that he

> had thought the English officer would remain an officer under any circumstances. When one has refused to fight further with a rifle, it is not becoming to continue to fight with the tongue, nor to insult the man from whom you have begged for mercy. . . . You cannot ask a man to spare your life, which is what surrendering really means, and then treat him as you would the gutter-snipe who runs to open the door of your hansom.[48]

"The volk must trust in themselves, and trust in the Lord. That remained Kruger's simple text. The calamities that had befallen them, the death of their friends, were a sign of God's will; His people needed to be tried and purified by suffering."
– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*

The prisoners had, it appeared, behaved in "a most unsportsmanlike, ungentlemanly" manner. Kept originally in a former schoolhouse, they destroyed the books, "drew offensive caricatures of the Boers over the walls," and were "rude and 'cheeky.'" And they did worse; they sinned against chivalry, shouting at women and girls as they passed:

> Personally, I cannot see why being a prisoner would make me think I might speak to women I did not know; but some of the English officers apparently thought their new condition carried that privilege with it. I do not believe that every one of them misbehaved in this

45. Davis, "The Last Days of Pretoria," *Scribner's* 28 (1900): 417.
46. Davis, "The Last Days of Pretoria," 417.
47. Downey, 184.
48. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," 181.

> fashion, but it was true of so many that their misconduct brought discredit on all. Some people say that the girls walked by for the express purpose of being spoken to; and a few undoubtedly did, and one of them was even arrested, after the escape of a well-known war correspondent [Churchill], on suspicion of having assisted him. But, on the other hand, any number of older women, both Boer and English, have told me that they found it quite impossible to pass the school-house [the jail building] on account of the insulting remarks the officers on the veranda threw to one another concerning them, or made directly to them. At last the officers grew so offensive that a large number of ladies signed a petition and sent it to the government complaining that the presence of the Englishmen in the heart of town was a public nuisance.[49]

For this the English officers were taken to the new camp where Davis saw them. The prisoner's compound was small, their central building "hot by day and cold by night and badly ventilated." But the English prisoners deserved their privations, Davis felt, for "it is to be considered that, had the officers been decently civil to the Boers, which need not have been difficult for gentlemen—I have never met an uncivil Boer—they might have been treated with even greater leniency."[50]

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"It was estimated that there were over 7,000 deaths among the 87,365 Boers. . . . No one knows how many Boers—men, women and children—died in the concentration camps. Official estimates vary between 18,000 and 28,000."
– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*
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As the Boer cause grew in grandeur to Davis, so did the British cause decline. Virtually a conduit for Boer views, Davis indicated to his mother, as he left Africa, that he was glad to be on his way home "as I can do just as much for the Boers at home now as there [in Africa] where the British censor would have shut me off." In the same letter Davis insisted that

> when I consider the magnitude of the misrepresentation about the burghers I feel appalled at the idea of going up against it. One is really afraid to tell all the truth about the Boer because no one will believe you. . . . personally I know no class of men I admire as much [as the Boers] or who to-day preserve the best and oldest ideas of charity, fairness and good will to men.[51]

He saw the two armies, for the last time before he left South Africa, on each side of the Sand River. In a final story for the *Herald*, he summed up what he had seen:

> On the one bank of the Sand [the English-held bank] was the professional soldier, who does whatever he is ordered to do. His orders this time were to kill a sufficiently large number of human beings to cause those few who might survive to throw up their hands

49. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," 180.
50. Davis, "Pretoria in War Time," 182.
51. Davis to his mother, 8 June 1900, *Adventures and Letters*, 289.

> and surrender their homes, their country and their birthright. On the other bank [the Boer-held bank] were a thousand self-governing, self-respecting farmers fighting for the land they have redeemed from the lion and the savage, for the towns and cities they have reared in a beautiful wilderness.[52]

The Boer War was, he had come to feel, the result of Great Britain's having "made up its mind to rob a free and intelligent people of the roof over them and the land beneath them." For this ignoble work "Buller was well chosen . . . the dull butcher, the fat witted Falstaff."[53] Lord Roberts, whom Davis admired, was sent to finish Buller's work, but the evil circumstances of the war perverted even Roberts into "a janissary of the Jews. . . the policeman for Cecil Rhodes," his new infamy obscuring his brilliant early record.[54]

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"The War Office reckoned that 400,346 horses, mules and donkeys were 'expended' in the war."

– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*

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Richard Harding Davis was by no means a tolerant man. Students of his life and writing as acute as Scott Osborn and Robert Phillips have noted that it is the "biased and temperamental qualities of Davis's work [that] have helped to obscure his genius."[55] While the verdict of his colleague Fredrick Palmer ignores changes of real substance in Davis's coverage of World War I before his death in 1916, Palmer summed up the idealism of Richard Harding Davis with real perception, commending his "distinctive high standards": "his chivalry embraced an ideal which had much influence on the youth of his time. Filth of all kinds was abhorrent to him."[56]

Richard Harding Davis was a moralist, and his distinctions about South Africa were simple principles, felt rather than reasoned. The Boers seemed to him like the American revolutionaries of 1776, and his affection for Kruger was no less real than his anti-Semitism or his distaste for Buller and his generalship. He was offended by the British censorship, and he later explained his pro-Boer bias as a reaction to it. "[The British] cut my dispatches and twisted facts so much that I decided to leave," he told reporters on his return. "When there was a Boer victory I was not allowed to send the story as it was. When the British became confused and fired on their men I was told I must not send that."[57]

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"Twenty-two thousand [British and colonial soldiers] found a grave in South Africa: 5,774 were killed by enemy action (or accident) and shovelled into the veld, often where they fell; 16,168 died of wounds or were killed by the action of disease (or the inaction of army doctors)."

– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*

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He had become venomous about Great Britain and her military leaders, though he insisted that his intention was only to reform: "A friend of England, which I certainly claim to be," he wrote, "would beg her to call upon her sense of humor to get

52. "The Boer and the Briton," *New York Herald*, 22 July 1900.
53. Richard Harding Davis, "Kruger's Last Day in Pretoria," *New York Herald*, 5 August 1900. This passage was deleted from *With Both Armies*.
54. Davis, "Kruger's Last Day in Pretoria," *New York Herald*, 5 August 1900.
55. Scott Osborn and Robert Phillips, Jr., *Richard Harding Davis* (Boston: Twayne, 1978), 88.
56. Palmer, *Scribner's* 80 (1926): 477.
57. Davis, "Boers Not Ready To Give Up Fight," *New York Herald*, 5 August 1900.

back her sense of proportion."[58] But he had lost his reportorial balance badly, finishing the war with a defiant, but demonstrably untrue, dockside statement to fellow reporters in New York that "the Boers have an almost unconquerable army."[59] He had, while in South Africa, permitted his reportorial instincts to be overwhelmed by what increasingly he regarded as an urgent need to promote the Boer cause. Before the relief of Ladysmith, while still with the British, he had written some of the best war reports of his career: his rendering of the rough country around Ladysmith reflects, as do his descriptions of the relief of the siege and the celebrations of its end, the range of reportorial abilities for which his contemporaries admired him. But after Ladysmith his skill deserted him, and even the usual excellence of his technical writing was lost in a series of waspish essays on the faults of the British character.

"In money and lives, no British war since 1815 had been so prodigal. That 'tea-time' war . . . had cost the British tax payer more than £200 million."
– Pakenham, *The Boer War.*

Davis was no intellectual, and he lacked the slightest objectivity or the faintest interest in being objective once his emotions were aroused. His analysis of the Boer War after the relief of Ladysmith was no more than an elaborate record of his prejudices, all strong and many foolish. It is, finally, on the strengths of his reporting before Ladysmith, the brilliance of his descriptions, that Davis's Boer War coverage must be estimated.

58. Davis, "The Boer and the Briton," *New York Herald*, 22 July 1900.
59. Davis, "Boers Not Ready To Give Up Fight," *New York Herald*, 5 August 1900.

THE PLACE OF BIOGRAPHY IN THE HISTORY OF NEWS WOMEN

The Careers of Women Journalists Remain an Important Topic for Historical Research

Catherine C. Mitchell

SCHOLARS WANTING TO WRITE biographies of women journalists face a dilemma. Biography has become a debatable technique just as a new subdiscipline of journalism history, that of women working in journalism, has emerged. Can biography be a useful approach? Just how extensive is the use of biography in histories of women in journalism? Some of the answers to these questions can be found in the work of women's historian Gerda Lerner.[1] This article describes Lerner's four stages in the conceptualization of women's history and uses those stages to categorize the historical research on women working in journalism. Then it argues that more of a particular kind of biography, what Lerner would call contribution history, is needed in the history of women working in journalism.

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE GREAT MAN

Startt and Sloan have attributed the "virtual disappearance of the 'great man' explanation of communication history" to the influence of the "Cultural School" of journalism history.[2] According to Sloan, the Cultural School originated in the early 1900s but took on a new influence with Carey's 1974 call for a cultural perspective.[3] The editors of *Journalism History* have called Carey's piece a "key source" for any discussion of "methods and interpretive approaches" to journalism history.[4] According to

1. Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
2. James D. Startt and William David Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989), 36.
3. See Startt and Sloan, 35–39; William David Sloan, "Introduction," in *American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 7–8; and Sloan, "Historians and the American Press, 1900–1945: Working Profession or Big Business?" *American Journalism* 3 (1986): 154–66.
4. James W. Carey, "'Putting the World at Peril': A Conversation with James W. Carey," *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 38–53.

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"Men have defined their experience as history and have left women out. . . . women are urged to fit into the empty spaces, assuming their traditional marginal, 'subgroup' status."
– Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past.*

Carey, journalism historians have tended to describe "the slow, steady expansion of freedom and knowledge from the political press to the commercial press, the setbacks into sensationalism and yellow journalism, the forward thrust into muckraking and social responsibility."[5] Carey says the problem with this stance is not so much that it is wrong as that historians have exhausted the vein. Carey argues that journalism history has been too narrowly defined, not adequately based in a "sense of historical time" and not connected to other historical research.[6] Others have agreed. For instance, Stevens and Garcia note that most journalism history has treated "individuals (producers) as shapers of American media." They argue that cultural forces have had as much to do with shaping media as have individuals.[7]

In response journalism historians have turned away from biography and are asking other questions. For instance, Nord has asked how newspapers function as a part of society as a whole.[8] Caudill has discussed the relationship between contemporary intellectual thought and the content of newspapers.[9] Others have objected to this deemphasis on Great Man journalism history. Washburn argues,

> It's time for mass communication historians to overcome a fear of the Great Man Theory and get on with telling history as it really occurred—in other words, with the human element in it.[10]

In summary, then, journalism historians today are asking research questions about the media's relationship to society. At the same time a new subdiscipline of journalism history has arisen, the study of women working in journalism. Scholars working in this subdiscipline face a dilemma. If they want to write biographies, they must justify their work at a time when journalism history as a whole tends to reject this approach. These conflicting ideas about biography are not unique to journalism history. American historians in general, influenced by the French Annales School, have turned away from Great Man History.[11] Yet in the field of women's history as a whole scholars at first

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5. James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1 (1974): 3–5, 27.
6. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," 30.
7. John Stevens and Hazel Dicken Garcia, *Communication History* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1980), 24.
8. David Paul Nord, "The Authority of Truth: Religion and the John Peter Zenger Case," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (1985): 227–35.
9. Ed Caudill, "A Content Analysis of Press Views of Darwin's Theories of Evolution, 1860–1925," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (1987): 782–86, 946.
10. Patrick S. Washburn, "Books—Not Articles—Advocated," *Clio Among the Media* 19 (April 1987), 4.
11. See, for instance, Michael Kammen, "The Historian's Vocation and the State of the Discipline in the United States," and Peter M. Stearns, "Toward a Wider Vision: Trends in Social History," in *The Past Before Us*, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 19–46, 205–30.

concentrated on writing biographies.[12] Gerda Lerner (whom Kraus and Joyce have called "the most important practitioner of women's history today") has addressed this conundrum.[13]

FOUR STAGES IN HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Lerner argues that there are four stages in the evolution of historical scholarship. Historians in any new subdiscipline, she says, first write "compensatory history." According to Lerner, in women's history scholars first tell the stories of "women worthies." She says historians ask, "Who are the women missing from history? Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve?"[14] Journalism historians writing at this stage are compensating for the absence of women from history books. They seek out the women who worked in newspapering and write descriptive biographies. Marion Marzolf's *Up from the Footnote* is an example of compensatory history, an attempt to bring women into the mainstream of journalism history.[15]

"Contribution history," Lerner's second stage, focuses on "women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society."[16] Contribution history is valuable, she says, because it develops "more complex and sophisticated questions." However, its limitation is that historians continue to operate in a traditional conceptual framework. "When all is said and done, what we have mostly done in writing contribution history is to describe what men in the past told women to do and what men in the past thought women should be."[17] Journalism historians writing at this stage look at how news women's work contributed to larger political or social movements. These scholars take a more analytical approach, but they are writing biographies asking the same questions which historians have also asked about the contributions of news men.

The third stage in the evolution of a conceptual framework for women's history Lerner calls the "transitional" stage. At this stage historians

> ask about the actual experience of women in the past. This is obviously different from a description of the condition of women written from the perspective of male sources, and leads one to the use of women's letters, diaries, autobiographies, and oral history sources.[18]

Some other books by Gerda Lerner:
The Woman in American History (1971)
Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (1972)
The Female Experience: An American Documentary (1977)
Teaching Women's History (1981)
A Death of One's Own (1985)
The Creation of Patriarchy (1986).

12. Catharine R. Stimpson, *Women's Studies in the United States* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1986), 14.
13. Michael Kraus and Davis D. Joyce, *The Writing of American History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 380.
14. Lerner, 145.
15. Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings, 1977).
16. Lerner, 146.
17. Lerner, 149.
18. Lerner, 153.

The transitional stage, says Lerner, leads to the creation of new categories by which historians could organize their material: "sexuality, reproduction, the link between child-bearing and child-rearing; role indoctrination; sexual values and myths; female consciousness."[19] Journalism historians writing at this stage ask questions like how a news woman's experience has been different from that of news men. Henry in advocating the use of methodologies besides biography, such as content analysis, takes a position which would push the study of women working in journalism into the transitional stage.[20] She has argued that the study of the "relationship between personal circumstances and work accomplishments" of both men and women journalists could enrich journalism history.[21]

Lerner predicts that the final stage in the evolution of women's history as a field will be a synthesis of women's and men's histories into a history of all people. Noting that women form the majority of the human population, she points out the absurdity of discussing women's history as a subgroup.[22] From Lerner's perspective the field of journalism history would change in this final phase. The transitional phase of examining the unique experience of news women will produce new historical questions which can then also be asked of news men's experience. Both Henry and Covert have predicted this synthesis for journalism history. "The introduction of [the] woman's perspective . . . may provide a re-evaluation of journalism history as traditionally composed," says Covert.[23] The process of asking new questions about women "may well require challenging and revising previously accepted precepts of journalism history that are not applicable to women," says Henry.[24]

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"A major focus of women's history has been on women's-rights struggles, especially the winning of suffrage. . . . This, again, is an important aspect of women's history, but it cannot and should not be its central concern."
– Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past.*
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SURVEY OF HISTORIES OF NEWS WOMEN

At what conceptual stage is the history of women working in journalism? To find out, I used Lerner's four stages of history to categorize the seventy-seven articles and books indexed under "Women" in Sloan's *American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography* [25] and an additional sixteen articles published between 1970 and 1986 in *Journalism History* and *Journalism Quarterly*. Included in the categories were all articles that addressed

19. Lerner, 158.
20. Susan Henry, "Colonial Woman Printer as a Prototype: Toward a Model for the Study of Minorities," *Journalism History* 3 (1976): 20–24.
21. Susan Henry, "Private Lives: An Added Dimension for Understanding Journalism History," *Journalism History* 6 (1979): 98–102.
22. Lerner, 159.
23. Catherine L. Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change," *Journalism History* 8 (1981): 2–60.
24. Susan Henry, "Journalism History and Women's History"(Paper presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, San Antonio, Texas, August 1987).
25. William David Sloan, *American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

women working in journalism as opposed to women as the subject of articles in newspapers. Included were articles about suffrage newspapers published by women and articles about women working in journalism education. Excluded were bibliographies, articles on historiography, and scholarship on newspaper content about women, including newspaper content about the woman's suffrage movement.

I found fifteen books, fifty-nine articles, and three dissertations on the history of women working in journalism. Ten scholars have published more than once in the area: Maurine Beasley, one book and nine articles; Sherilyn Cox Bennion, seven articles; Susan Henry, one book chapter, five articles, and her dissertation; Marion Marzolf, one book and two articles; Lynn Masel-Walters, three articles; Anne Mather, three articles; Zena Beth McGlashan, two articles and her dissertation; Ellen M. Oldham, two articles; and Kathleen Endres, two articles.

"Brenda Starr in the comic strips, Rosalind Russell in the movies and Mary Tyler Moore on TV may be the public's image of the woman reporter. But the real thing . . . has been infinitely more interesting than the stereotype."
– Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote.*

The occasional piece on women working in journalism appeared before 1970, but the field came into its own in the early seventies with the largest number of books and articles (twelve) appearing in 1975. As Figure 1 shows, compensatory descriptions of women worthies dominate the scholarship on women working in journalism with a total of twelve books, thirty-three articles, and one dissertation.[26] As might be expected for this first conceptual phase, the bulk of these forty-six works were published in the 1970s, when the first concentrated work in the field was being done. However, scholars have not abandoned compensatory history. The most recent work in this category was published in 1986.[27]

Another three books and twenty-three articles were contribution history. Rather than just describing the women and their work, these pieces looked at issues like the journalists' contribution to wider social movements, their roles in the newsroom, or their handling of ethical issues.[28] Six of these appeared in the watershed year of 1975. However, as Figure 2 shows, contribution articles became more frequent in the late seventies and early eighties.

Four articles and one dissertation, the earliest in 1983, were written from the perspective of Lerner's transitional phase in the

26. For instance: Ira L. Baker, "Elizabeth Timothy: America's First Woman Editor," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1977): 280–85; Norma Schneider, "Clementina Rind: Editor, Daughter, Mother, Wife," *Journalism History* 1 (1974): 137–40; and Maurine Beasley, "Lorena A. Hickok: Woman Journalist," *Journalism History* 7 (1980): 92–95, 113.

27. Linda Steiner and Susanne Grey, "Genevieve Forbes Herrick: A Front Page Reporter 'Pleased to Write About Women,'" *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 8–16.

28. For example, Zena Beth McGlashan, "Women Witness the Russian Revolution: Analyzing Ways of Seeing," *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 54–61; Maurine H. Beasley, "A 'Front Page Girl' Covers the Lindbergh Kidnapping: An Ethical Dilemma," *American Journalism* 1 (1983): 63–74; Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Fremont Older: Advocate for Women," *Journalism History* 3 (1976–77): 124–27.

Figure 1
Number of Articles and Books of Compensatory History, 1970–86

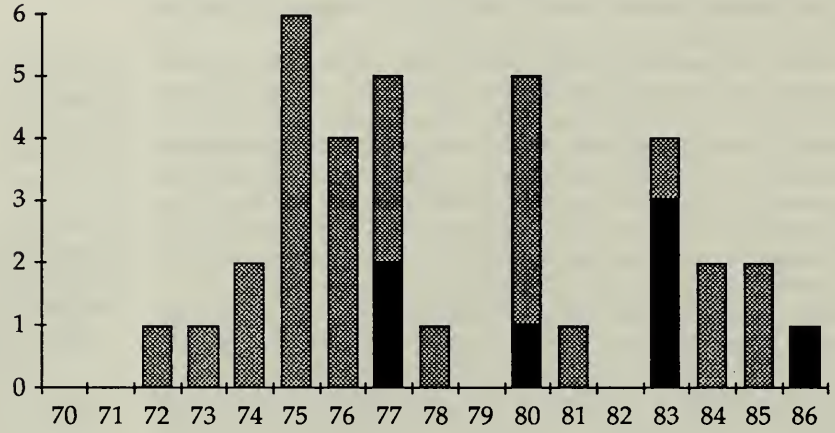
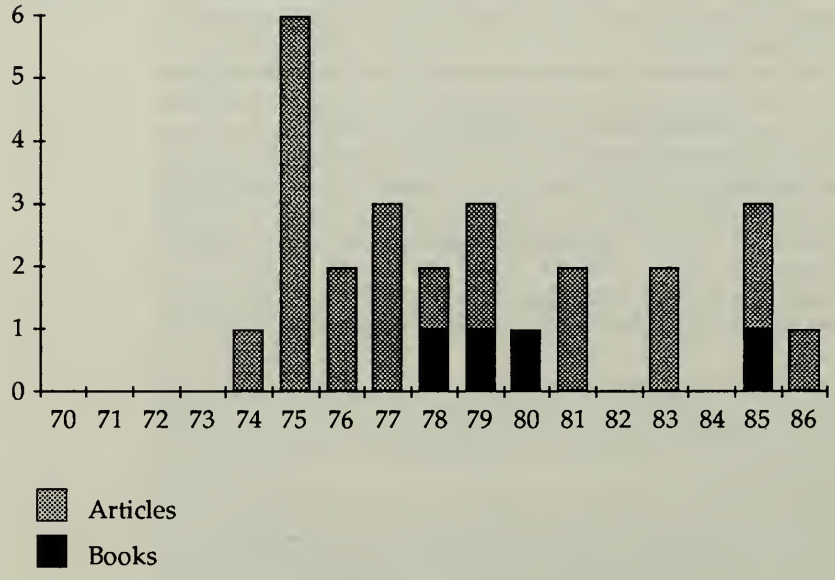


Figure 2
Number of Articles and Books of Contribution History, 1970–86



conceptualization of history. For example, Maurine Beasley compared men's and women's experiences as early journalism students.[29] Susan Henry examined the work role of one colonial printer to see if she was different from or similar to other men and women printers on issues such as formal job training and personal mobility.[30] And Linda Steiner examined how the process of women working together on nineteenth century suffrage newspapers helped create consensus about movement goals.[31]

THE USEFULNESS OF BIOGRAPHY

It is clear that scholarship on women working in journalism has concentrated at the compensatory stage, as Figure 3 suggests. That being the case, should descriptive biographies of women journalists be rejected as an outmoded approach, and should scholars instead proceed to ask broader, more sociological questions about news women? Henry, as early as 1976, began calling for an advance to what Lerner would call the transitional stage.[32]

Clearly, enough scholarship on women working in journalism has been amassed for some historians to proceed to transitional work. "The new stories of at least one hundred women journalists have been told," says Henry.[33] But one can argue the necessity for more biographical work, particularly at the stage of contribution history. The study of women working in journalism only came under concentrated study in the mid-1970s, and (comparatively speaking) the body of work is still not extensive. Sloan's bibliography contains 2,657 entries, of which only seventy-seven (or 3 percent) are indexed under women. As Hixson points out, subdisciplines "write their first histories in terms of great men."[34] A goodly amount of work has appeared about the individual women who have worked in journalism, but by no means have all of the stories of women journalists been aired. For example, looking at only eleven western states plus Alaska and Hawaii, Bennion compiled a list of more than 200 nineteenth-century women editors.[35] There must be even more women not

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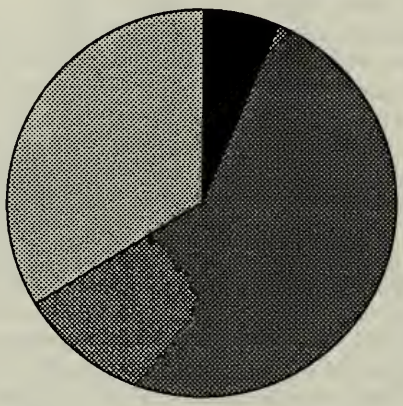
29. Maurine Beasley, "Women in Journalism Education: The Formative Period, 1908–1930," *Journalism History* 13 (1986): 10–18.
30. Susan Henry, "Exception to the Female Model: Colonial Printer Mary Crouch," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (1985): 725–33, 749.
31. Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals," *American Journalism* 1 (1983): 1–15.
32. Henry, "Colonial Woman Printer," 20–24.
33. Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," in *Women in Mass Communication*, ed. Pamela J. Creedon (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1989).
34. Richard F. Hixson, "The Challenge of Regionalism," in *Mass Media and the National Experience*, ed. Ronald T. Farrar and John D. Stevens (New York: Harper, 1971), 87.
35. Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "A Working List of Women Editors of the Nineteenth Century West," *Journalism History* 7 (1980): 60–65.

Figure 3
Proportions of Compensatory, Contribution, and Transitional History, 1970–86



Compensatory History (46 works) 59.7%
Contribution History (26 works) 33.8%
Transitional History (5 works) 6.5%

yet found who worked in the nineteenth century on newspapers in the thirty-seven other states.

Scott reports her experience doing research on the southern progressive movement:

> As I searched the record for Southern progressives I kept stumbling over women: well-dressed, well-spoken southern ladies taking a strong hand in social and political issues. At first I was puzzled since none of the people who had written on this subject (luminaries such as C. Vann Woodward and Arthur Link) had prepared me to find women there at all. But women were there, and they made a difference.[36]

In American journalism, too, women may well have been there everywhere and they may have made a difference. Biographical research, particularly at the stage of contribution history, must continue because scholars have not yet established the extent of women's contribution in the history of American journalism.

In addition, biography is crucial to the beginning of an historical subdiscipline because the biographers do much of the documentary spade work, preparing the soil for historians who come later planting more sophisticated questions. The biographers often discover the primary sources that other historians use. Mary Beard in the 1930s used the slogan "No documents, no history" to point out the need to collect archival material on women.[37] Smith notes that biographies of women in media can provide the factual detail necessary to write "a larger sociocultural interpretation."[38]

Revisionist biographies can also provide new information, new perspectives. Scholars in American literature have produced a plethora of work on Margaret Fuller, an important woman in journalism and one of the most renowned women of the nineteenth century. But there is still room for the journalism historian to study Fuller because her biographers have treated her as a woman worthy who influenced the evolution of literary criticism through her articles in the *New York Tribune*.[39] Because they are not concerned with newspaper history, references to

"In 1958 all the historians of women in the United States could have met in [a] tiny hotel room, which was all any one of the three could afford at historical meetings. Twenty years later conferences on women's history attracted 2,000 people and overran whole college campuses."
– Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible.*

36. Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), xix.
37. Stimpson, 7.
38. Mary Ann Yodelis Smith, "Research Retrospective: Feminism and the Media," *Communication Research* 9 (1982): 152.
39. Margaret Vanderharr Allen, *The Achievement of Margaret Fuller* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979); Katharine Anthony, *Margaret Fuller* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Harve, 1920); Margaret Bell, *Margaret Fuller* (1930; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Free Libraries Press, 1971); Faith Chipperfield, *In Quest of Love: The Life and Death of Margaret Fuller* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1957); Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (1884; reprint, New York: Haskell House, 1968); Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York: Viking, 1940).

Fuller's place within the organization of the *New York Tribune* are rare.[40]

THE NEED FOR BIOGRAPHY

Compensatory biographies dominate the scholarship on women working in journalism, but this does not mean scholars should now reject biography as outmoded. There is a clear need for more contribution biography, a need to establish a clear picture of the contribution of women to journalism history. In addition biographers, writing at both the compensatory and contribution stages, provide important information for scholars who wish to work at the transitional stage. First, biographers find the primary sources necessary for all historical research. Second, they can make important corrections in previous biographical scholarship.

Historiographers arguing for broader perspectives are correct in saying that the goal of scholars studying women working in journalism should be to enhance journalism history with the new perspectives provided by research into women's topics. However, it is important to remember that the area of women working in journalism is still very young. Compensatory and contribution scholars working in this very young subdiscipline have laid the groundwork for some historians to begin entering the transitional phase; but even more biographical work will provide an even broader foundation in which to ground transitional scholarship.

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40. Catherine C. Mitchell, "Horace Greeley's Star: Margaret Fuller's New York Tribune Journalism, 1844–1846," (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1987).

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Historiographical Essay

WOMEN IN JOURNALISM: CONTRIBUTORS TO MALE EXPERIENCE OR VOICES OF FEMININE EXPRESSION?

How Historians Have Told the Stories of Women Journalists

Maurine H. Beasley

WOMEN HAVE PARTICIPATED in American journalism since its beginnings but their involvement has been interpreted ambiguously. On one hand they have been seen as contributors to male experiences; on the other as creators who have used journalism to give voice to feminine aspirations. So far there has been no extensive examination or resolution of those conflicting interpretations, in large part because the history of women in journalism received little attention for years. Happily, however, this is no longer true.

In the last two decades scholars have added to the field of journalism history by focusing attention on women's roles. Susan Henry, former editor of *Journalism History*, pointed out that the first ten-year index (1974–83) of her journal contained twenty-six separate entries under the category "woman," the third largest topic category listed.[1] She noted that the infusion of new work related to the history of women has been reflected in the history of a dominant journalism textbook, *The Press and America*, by Edwin and Michael Emery. While the heading "women in journalism" in the Emerys' index led to only five pages in the third edition of the book in 1972, it referred to a total of 103 pages in the sixth edition of the work in 1988.[2]

The broad question of the historiography of women in journalism has not been addressed. Henry contended that this new scholarship generally fell within the accepted boundaries of conventional male-oriented journalism history, although she pointed out that no full-fledged critique of works about journalism history existed.[3]

1. Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," in *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*, ed. Pamela E. Creedon (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1989), 35.
2. Henry, 36.
3. Henry, 39–40.

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This article reviews material, both old and new, on the history of women in journalism to see where it fits, if at all, within the general framework of journalism historiography set forth by William David Sloan, former editor of *American Journalism*. His work was selected because he has done more than any other scholar to provide an historiographical structure for the field.

According to Sloan, most works on journalism history can be placed within seven schools: (1) Nationalist, which viewed the press as a primary factor in America's political destiny during the early nineteenth century; (2) Romantic, which stressed the role of great editors and became popular in the second half of the nineteenth century; (3) Developmental, which emphasized the evolution of professional standards in the late nineteenth and much of the twentieth century; (4) Progressive, which flowered in the pre-World War II period and saw the press as a tool for liberal social change; (5) Consensus, which emerged after World War II and found journalism a reflection of shared values in American society; (6) Cultural, which stemmed from the work of Robert E. Park, a University of Chicago sociologist, who perceived journalism as the product of interaction with the environment; and (7) Libertarian, which upheld the value of freedom of the press and became a theme of numerous journalism historians.[4]

• • • • •
Women printers mentioned by Isaiah Thomas:
Jane Aitken
Cornelia Bradford
Elizabeth Bushnell
Mary Crouch
Anne Draper
Maria Edes
Anne Franklin
Mary Goddard
Sarah Goddard
Ann Green
Ann Greenleaf
Elizabeth Holt
Clementina Rind
Anne Timothy
Elizabeth Timothy
Lucy Trumbull
Catherine Zenger.
•

Sloan acknowledged that some journalism history had been written from other perspectives, such as the Marxist and the neoconservative, but he contended that these schools represented only a fraction of the entire body of historical work and did not necessitate study.[5] He did not mention a feminist philosophy. Yet, as will be seen, significant scholarship on the history of women in journalism has been influenced, at least to some extent, by this approach. Nevertheless, most of the history of women in journalism has not questioned conventional perspectives even though it has departed from the type of history written about males.

Like women's history in general, the history of women in journalism was not deemed worthy of study for years. Sloan's historiographical framework provided the introduction to his annotated bibliography of some 2,600 scholarly works on journalism history. The index showed it contained only about eighty entries under the heading "women" plus forty-four others referring to women that were listed under different headings. Other references were listed in an unannotated twelve-page bibliography compiled by Marion Marzolf, Ramona R. Rush, and Darlene Stern in the early 1970s.[6] Citing biographies and references to

4. William David Sloan, "Introduction," *American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 2–8.
5. Sloan, 8.
6. Marion Marzolf, Ramona R. Rush, and Darlene Stern, "The Literature of Women in Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1 (1974–75): 117–28.

women in general collections, it also provided material on the image of women, sex discrimination, and archival resources. Marzolf subsequently added a five-page supplement.[7]

It is readily apparent that relatively little material documents the history of women in journalism. Even today only two comprehensive histories of women in journalism can be found: Ishbel Ross's *Ladies of the Press* (1936) and Marzolf's *Up From the Footnote* (1977).[8] Unfortunately neither book was documented.

In this article most of the works reviewed are those cited in the Sloan and Marzolf, Rush, and Stern bibliographies, supplemented by mention of works in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The early works provided a benchmark with which to measure the profusion of recent scholarship. In fact, the nineteenth century set the parameters of debates on the role of women in journalism history that continue today. Have women in journalism chiefly contributed to the male experience or have they provided an intrinsic dimension uniquely their own? The definitive answer is yet to come.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

The first historian of American journalism was Isaiah Thomas, whose *The History of Printing in America* in 1810 briefly mentioned the role of women. Sloan placed Thomas's work as the cornerstone of the nationalist perspective.[9] In chronicling contributions of newspapers to the new American nation, Thomas noted that it was common for widows, "especially of printers, innkeepers and traders, to take up and carry on the husband's trade, and not uncommon for them to set up businesses of their own."[10] Subsequent writers pointed out that women were involved in producing at least a dozen newspapers before the Revolution.[11] All were wives or daughters (or in the case of Sarah and Mary Katherine Goddard, a mother and sister respectively) of male printer-publishers.[12]

"A gentleman who was acquainted with Anne Franklin and her family, informed me that he had often seen her daughters at work in the printing house, and that they were sensible and amiable women."
– Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America.*

Thomas praised women printers for being industrious and able to carry on family businesses until their sons were old enough to take over. He described Anne Franklin, widow of

7. Marion Marzolf, "The Literature of Women in Journalism History: A Supplement," *Journalism History* 3 (1976–77): 116–20.
8. See Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper's, 1936), and Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977).
9. Sloan, 2.
10. Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass.: Isaiah Thomas Jr., 1810), 1:xx.
11. A list can be found in Edith May Marken, "Women in American Journalism Before 1900" (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1932), 12. See also Elisabeth Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), 166–79.
12. See Susan Henry, "Sarah Goddard, Gentlewoman Printer," *Journalism Quarterly* 57 (1980): 23–30.

"The lady-editors who by 1828 were beginning to take charge of periodicals . . . were intent rather upon disarming criticism and proving that nothing need be feared from their harmless conservatism."
– Bertha-Monica Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers."

James, as being aided in publishing the *Newport Mercury* by her two daughters, who "were correct and quick compositors at case."[13] Of Cornelia Bradford, who ran the *American Weekly Mercury* in Philadelphia after the death of her husband, he wrote approvingly: "The *Mercury* was well printed on a good type during the whole time she had management of it."[14] Thomas's work set a tone for much of the journalism history to follow. He pictured women as dutiful supporters of males and limited participants in the vital national work of journalism.

Jessie E. Ringwalt's 1872 article on "Early Female Printers in America" continued in this vein.[15] The article presented a factual account of eleven women printers. It ended by commenting that the list easily could be lengthened with names of widows compelled to assume printing businesses without trying to achieve excellence in the trade.[16]

By contrast, a feminist point of view emerged in the late nineteenth century, not surprisingly tied to the campaign for suffrage. A chapter on "Women in Newspapers" in the 1889 edition of the *History of Woman Suffrage* drew on the achievements of colonial women journalists as a backdrop for the accomplishments of nineteenth-century women.[17] The work of eighteen women journalists before 1800 was cited. Next came the names of thirty-four women, many of them editors of women's magazines and reform publications, who were credited with significant roles in the journalism of the first six decades of the nineteenth century. Anna W. Spencer, for example, was acclaimed for starting the *Pioneer and Woman's Advocate* in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1852, "the earliest paper established in the United States for the advocacy of Woman's Rights."[18] Some thirty suffrage newspapers in the United States and abroad were mentioned. The chapter also gave the names of thirteen women who edited or contributed to "fashion papers" and general newspapers and magazines. It contended, "The political columns of many papers are prepared by women, men often receiving the credit."[19]

Similarly women's achievements were celebrated in a chapter on the history of women journalists in *Woman's Work in America*.[20] The chapter traced the rise of women as correspon-

13. Thomas, 1:195.
14. Thomas, 1:244.
15. Jessie E. Ringwalt, "Early Female Printers in America," *Printer's Circular* 7 (1872): 284–85.
16. Ringwalt, 285.
17. "Women in Newspapers," in *History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. Elisabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, 6 vols. (Rochester, N.Y.: Charles Mann, 1889), 1:43–49.
18. Stanton et al., 1:46.
19. Stanton et al., 1:49.
20. Susan E. Dickinson, "Woman in Journalism," in *Woman's Work in America*, ed. Annie Meyer (New York: Holt and Co., 1891), 128–38.

dents and reporters on metropolitan newspapers and as editors of various publications, noted the founding of women's press associations, and referred to the presence of "Anglo-African sisters" in the journalistic field. In endeavoring to draw women into the occupation, it argued optimistically that journalism was a "fair field" for women, offering them pay comparable to that given men.[21]

This type of historical writing, which promoted women's emergence into journalism, differed greatly from works by and about men, who remained in firm control of the occupation. Sloan's analysis of the Romantic school of journalism history writing in the late nineteenth century — which featured "great" male editors like Horace Greeley — can be applied only in a convoluted way in dealing with the history of women in journalism. It emphasized things hoped for, not achieved. For instance, the chapter on women journalists in the *History of Woman Suffrage* ended: "If the proverb that 'the pen is mightier than the sword' be true, woman's skill and force in using this mightier weapon must soon change the destinies of the world."[22]

A similar feminist approach was taken in an 1892 article on the sixty-member Woman's Press Club of New York. An account of the group, which had been founded three years earlier, stressed the "unity, fellowship and cooperation" among the members.[23] The article included twenty-two biographical sketches of outstanding members of the club, founded by Mrs. J. C. Croly, whose pen name was "Jennie June." She was called "the first woman upon the staff of a daily paper in this city," and was credited with creating "the demand for women contributors" as well as the syndication of women's columns.[24] The article concluded with the observation that the women did not judge each other on their looks or wits but displayed a "cordial relation of sisterly helpfulness."[25]

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"Women journalists by 1889 had made such an impact on the profession that the *Journalist*, a professional journal in New York City, devoted its entire January 26 issue to profiles of 50 women editors and reporters, 10 of them black."
– Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote.*

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One of the most significant works on the history of journalism appeared in 1873, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872*. Like many journalism histories to come, it was written by a journalist, Frederic Hudson, managing editor of the *New York Herald*. According to Sloan, Hudson was the first and perhaps the most important of the Developmental historians, who pictured journalism as a progression from the political to the professional in terms of news-oriented techniques.[26]

Hudson devoted a chapter to "Female Journalists," begrudgingly recognizing the achievements of Sarah Josepha Hale. She

21. Dickinson, 138.
22. Stanton et al., 1:49.
23. Fannie A. Mathews, "The Woman's Press Club of New York City," *Cosmopolitan* 13 (August 1892): 455–61.
24. Mathew, 455.
25. Mathew, 461.
26. Sloan, 4.

was editor of a magazine, *Godey's Lady's Book*, "not a newspaper," so it "can scarcely, therefore, come within the scope of a compilation like this one," Hudson wrote.[27] Nevertheless, he referred favorably to the high technical quality of fashion plates and engravings in ladies' magazines like *Godey's*. Suffrage publications, in Hudson's words, were edited by "strong-minded women," who were "active and persistent workers, full of poetry and poverty . . . pouts and persuasiveness, in pushing their plan of reform before the monster public."[28] The good he saw in these publications was recognition of the power of the press in social movements.

"Our large cities are now the centres of numerous female writers and reporters.... They are bright, influential, many of them beautiful, talented, experienced, and useful. Some of them are Bohemians in crinoline."
– Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States.*

Hudson mentioned women who had succeeded male relatives as newspaper publishers, including Piney W. Forsythe of the *Liberty* (Mississippi) *Advocate*, "who lately declined to attend a convention of Mississippi editors for fear her male contemporaries would stare at her." Hudson found this acceptable behavior. He wrote, "There are now quite a number of female managers and publishers [who] do not put themselves forward or make themselves very conspicuous in their profession."[29]

Hudson obviously believed it was permissible for women to be journalists as long as they fit discreetly within the male-dominated field. This is a view of women's role that has marked much historical writing. As the historian Joan Wallach Scott stated, "Historians cannot use a single, universal representative for the diverse populations of any society or culture without granting differential importance to one group over another."[30] As long as man, or men's experience, was made the universal representative of journalism, then woman, or women's experience, was seen as exceptional and outside a norm into which women had to struggle to fit. This viewpoint marked the history of women journalists written during much of the twentieth century.

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Relatively few works on women in journalism history appeared in the first decades of the twentieth century, and those that did fit into, or between, the feminist and developmental perspectives. An early work was Sarah H. Porter's biography of Anne Royall, a Washington editor-publisher from 1832 to 1854 and the first person in the United States to have been convicted as a "common scold."[31] Porter tried to expose male biases against Royall. An investigative journalist who attacked organized reli-

27. Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Row, 1873), 497.
28. Hudson, 498.
29. Hudson, 499.
30. Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 25.
31. Sarah H. Porter, *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1909), 221.

gion, Royall was ridiculed as a funny old woman by men correspondents. Porter wrote her book to prove that Royall had been a victim of sex discrimination, judged on looks, attire, and unconventional behavior, rather than journalistic enterprise. George S. Jackson, in a 1937 biography, took a similar sympathetic approach to Royall.[32] He held that history had written her off as a notorious eccentric because of her sex.

The first academic study of the history of women journalists up to 1900 was a master's thesis written at the University of Missouri by Edith M. Marken in 1932. Influenced by her training at Missouri, the world's first school of journalism, Marken subscribed to the developmental model of historiography associated with journalism education. Rich with hundreds of names of individual women, the thesis reported on women's movement from specialized ladies' magazines to work on metropolitan newspaper staffs. As in almost all histories of women journalists, sexual discrimination was described, although Marken said women could overcome it with "definite, specific knowledge, and the lighter, more delicate touch which imagination has guided."[33]

In 1931 a popular biography of Sarah J. Hale appeared, written by Ruth Finley. She placed Hale within the context of great American women: first advocate of women as teachers in public schools; originator of the fight for retention of property rights by married women; founder of the first day nursery; campaigner for physical education for women and public playgrounds.[34] Yet Hale took no part in the suffrage movement and wrote sermons on women's moral duties to be good wives, although she favored their higher education. Finley treated her more as a representative of Victorian women's social progress than as a journalist. Therefore the book has a feminist viewpoint rather than the romantic perspective associated with biographies of outstanding nineteenth century male editors.

Hale had been accorded less significance in an article that appeared in the *American Mercury* a few years previous.[35] The author, Richard F. Warner, attributed the success of *Godey's Lady's Book* to the publisher, Louis A. Godey. Warner referred to Hale as Godey's "crew."[36]

During the first third of the twentieth century the outlines for journalism history of women were set. Women, not men, became the predominant authors. They usually admired their

32. George Stuyvesant Jackson, *Uncommon Scold* (Boston: Bruce Humphries Co., 1937), 43–44. Another kindly portrayal came in Heber Blankenhorn, "The Grandma of the Muckrakers," *American Mercury* 12 (1927): 87–93.
33. Marken, 129.
34. Ruth E. Finley, *The Lady of Godey's, Sarah Josepha Hale* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1931), 17.
35. Richard Fay Warner, "Godey's Lady's Book," *American Mercury* 2 (1924): 399–405.
36. Warner, 404.

subjects, although they did not always surmount prevailing cultural biases toward women. These prejudices sometimes infused their work just as they did the work of some male authors.

A clear example occurred in Bertha-Monica Stearn's 1934 article on pre-Civil War women's reform periodicals in the *American Historical Review*.[37] The subject could have been framed within the progressive model of historiography and the publications treated as efforts in the struggle to achieve democracy. Instead Stearn's language trivialized the reformers' concerns, although the article may be seen as a quasi-feminist work. The periodicals were said to have "clamored loudly for some Right, or agitated vigorously against some abuse."[38]

It was, however, a male historian, Arthur J. Larson, aided by his wife, who offered the first scholarly appraisal of Jane Grey Swisshelm.[39] She was the editor of anti-slavery newspapers in western Pennsylvania and on the Minnesota frontier as well as the first woman to sit in the Congressional press galleries. In an introduction to a collection of her letters published in 1934, Larson adhered to the progressive school, painting his subject as a reformer and feminist who was "fearless in her adherence to what she considered the right."[40]

The first book on women journalists appeared in 1936 written by Ishbel Ross, who had been a well-regarded reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune*. Although she included the history of nineteenth-century journalists, her book, *Ladies of the Press*, subtitled "The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider," concentrated on Ross's contemporaries, hundreds of whom she contacted to gain material. Intended for a popular audience, it focused on women journalists' adventurous lives, giving dramatic accounts of "sob sisters" and the yellow press. She pictured women reporters as individualists who continually had to prove themselves first-class performers to overcome male editors' hostility.

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"Women reporters, who mostly wrote society and soft news, were especially vulnerable during the Great Depression when one-third of all salaried newspaper employees lost their jobs."
– Betty Winfield, "Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conference Association."
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While Ross stressed the contributions of women to American journalism, she pointed out that they still were not welcome in the field, being forced to walk a wavering line between femininity and reportorial behavior. Describing the woman reporter as a paradox, Ross said she must be "gentle in private life, ruthless at her work. . . . not too beguiling [because] trouble, beauty and sex are threats in any city room."[41] The highest compliment to which women respond "is the city editor's acknowledgment

37. Bertha-Monica Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers 1830–1860," *American Historical Review* 37 (1932): 678–99.
38. Stearns, 678.
39. Arthur J. Larson, ed., *Crusader & Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm 1855–1865* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1934), 1–32.
40. Larson, 30.
41. Ross, 8–9.

that their work is just like a man's," Ross continued.[42] In an oblique way Ross's book can be seen as part of the development school, but it fits better into the feminist category because it showed women caught in psychological and social constraints.

In this period women journalists were stereotyped. An example of stereotyping appeared in a biographical article on Anna O'Hare McCormick, winner of a 1937 Pulitzer Prize for her foreign correspondence in the *New York Times*. *Current History* termed McCormick, first woman to receive a major Pulitzer Prize, "vivacious, sparkling, dressed not smartly but with taste and a sense of style."[43] It lauded her modesty in a man's preserve. Comments on dress and personality were ways of picturing women differently from men journalists and keeping women from being seen as their equals.

MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

A romantic approach to the history of women journalists characterized this period, marked by portrayals of women as contributors to male enterprises. This can be seen in the work of Sara Lockwood Williams, one of the first women professors of journalism, who in 1942 traced the history of women within Missouri journalism in *The Matrix*, the publication of Theta Sigma Phi, a journalism sorority. Lockwood focused on the contributions of editors' wives to local newspapers based on speeches made by these women at press association meetings. For example, she quoted from a speech given in 1881 by Mrs. Susie McK. Fisher, wife of the editor of the *Farmington* (Missouri) *Times*, who declared, "The tone of a newspaper with a woman on the staff is purer and more deserving of a place in every household."[44] Williams, whose husband, Walter, founded the University of Missouri School of Journalism where she taught, also subscribed to the developmental perspective. In her *Matrix* article she held that journalism education had provided "equal opportunities" for Missouri women to prove their worth in the field.[45]

In a quasi-biographical novel, Kent Cooper pictured Anna Zenger as a heroine of American journalism. He presented her as the guiding spirit behind her husband, John Peter, a colonial printer-publisher whose acquittal in a libel trial became a foundation of press freedom.[46] The book by Cooper, manager of the Associated Press, was attacked in an article in the *William and Mary Quarterly*. The reviewer, Vincent Buranelli, accused Cooper of abandoning history for romance and declared Anna

"Any woman in or interested in journalism education, seeking guidance about her role from the literature, would need only a few hours to cover the topic thoroughly."
– Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote.*

42. Ross, 13.
43. L.C. Grey, "McCormick of the Times," *Current History* 50 (1939): 27.
44. Sara Lockwood Williams, "The Editor's Rib," *Matrix* 27 (1942): 13.
45. Williams, 14.
46. Kent Cooper, *Anna Zenger, Mother of Freedom* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, 1946), 330–31.

Zenger merely "a courageous wife" who had kept her husband's newspaper going while he was in jail.[47]

More objectionable than fiction was outright hostility. Prejudices against women who replaced men on newspaper staffs during World War II pervaded an historical overview of women journalists titled "Paper Dolls" that first ran in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1944. It was reprinted three years later in an anthology published by the University of Georgia Press.[48] The 8,000 women hired when men went to war were accused of being "as irresponsible as an amorous monkey [with] absolutely no sense of the urgency of hot news."[49] The article also abounded in anecdotal and inaccurate details on women journalists' lives from Anne Royall on.

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"What happens when 8,000 reporters march out and 8,000 girls march in? Masculine growls in the city room prove that the ancient prejudicie stands—but on a weakening foundation."
– Editor's note to Stanley Frank and Paul Sann, "Paper Dolls."
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Serious work on the history of women journalists during the post-World War II period was glossed over through widespread use of a florid writing style that stressed the unconventional nature of exceptional women's lives. For example, Margaret Farrand Thorp's well-researched, but unfootnoted, article on Jane Swisshelm in 1949 was titled "Beware of Sister Jane." It stressed Swisshelm's "anger and impatience," and referred to her "useful venom" against injustice.[50]

When women journalists were accorded full-length biographies, they were portrayed so much differently than men that it is difficult to place these books within a conventional historical framework. Perhaps this is less a criticism of their biographers than an observation on the dissimilarities of the lives of men and women journalists. Still it appeared that authors sought to maximize the differences for dramatic effect.

For example, the moral conduct of Miriam Florence Leslie, better known as Mrs. Frank Leslie, was featured in a 1953 biography, *Purple Passage: The Life of Mrs. Frank Leslie.* The author, Madeleine B. Stern, gave as much attention to her subject's unconventional personal life as to her career. As she put it, "Hers had been a colorful career—a life studded with purple passages, the result of wearing a blue stocking on one leg while she sported a scarlet stocking on the other."[51] A biography of Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer, who won fame as the advice columnist "Dorothy Dix," depicted her career, "like the woman herself," as stranger than fiction.[52] Albert Britt's 1960 biography

47. Vincent Buranelli, "The Myth of Anna Zenger," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d ser., 13 (1956): 168.
48. Stanley Frank and Paul Sann, "Paper Dolls," in *More Post Biographies,* ed. John E. Drewry (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1947), 206–17.
49. Frank and Sann, 210.
50. Margaret Farrand Thorp, "Beware of Sister Jane," in *Female Persuasion: Six Strong-Minded Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), 56, 59.
51. Madeleine B. Stern, *Purple Passage: The Life of Mrs. Frank Leslie* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 4.
52. Harnett T. Kane with Ella Bentley Authur, *Dear Dorothy Dix: The Story of a Compassionate Woman* (New York: Doubleday, 1952), 9.

of Ella Browning Scripps painted her as a devoted sister whose journalistic pursuits were secondary to family obligations and charitable activities.[53]

Journalism historians insisted on assuring readers that women journalists of note had retained their femininity in spite of professional success. For instance, a 1963 article by Henry Ladd Smith, a professor at the University of Washington, on Jane Cunningham Croly, the "Jennie June" referred to earlier, was titled "The Beauteous Jennie June: Pioneer Woman Journalist."[54] Ladd insisted "she was a very feminine woman, which is more than could be said of some of her sister feminists."[55] After detailing her accomplishments, which included the founding of the women's club movement in the United States, he concluded, "In the light of history she may appear over-aggressive, a kind of frenetic 'activities girl.'"[56] Since the article on Croly included description of her journalistic innovations, particularly syndicated fashion and advice columns, it can be placed in the developmental category, but the obvious bias makes it a questionable entry.

Similarly a 1969 article on Anna Benjamin, a correspondent during the Spanish-American war, described her as "a slight New England miss."[57] It told readers, "Although Miss Benjamin could be as direct and decisive as a man, she was not mannish in looks," and concluded that she was "one of the first of a not very long line of notable women and foreign correspondents."[58] A comparable view characterized a chapter on "Ladies on the Front Lines" in a 1968 book on the history of war correspondents that reported "nearly a dozen newshens are in Vietnam as of this writing."[59] After comments on the appearances of past and present women war correspondents (one was described as "beauteous"), the author conceded, "Today's woman war correspondent is ready, willing and surprisingly able."[60]

An exception to this customary trivialization of woman was a three-part series on early women printers in the *Boston Public Library Quarterly* in 1958.[61] The author, Ellen Oldham, stressed the forceful character of the eleven best-known colonial women printer-publishers who operated "before the emancipation of

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"Lest the men readers of this piece be disheartened, let it be said that there is still a place for the masculine sex in journalism, but the competition is today much keener, largely on account of the school of journalism trained girls, than it once was."

– John Drewry's preface to Frank and Sann, "Paper Dolls."

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53. Albert Britt, *Ella Browning Scripps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 44, 51.
54. Henry Ladd Smith, "The Beauteous Jennie June: Pioneer Woman Journalist," *Journalism Quarterly* 40 (1963): 169–74.
55. Smith, 170.
56. Smith, 174.
57. Charles B. Brown, "The War Correspondence of Anna Benjamin," *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (1969): 522.
58. Brown, 524, 530.
59. M.L. Stein, *Under Fire: The Story of American War Correspondents* (New York: Julian Messner, 1968), 228.
60. Stein, 229.
61. Ellen M. Oldham, "Early Women Printers of America," *Boston Public Library Quarterly* 10 (1958): 6–26; 78–92; 141–53.

women."[62] She treated them as a group faced "with the necessity of supporting themselves, and in most cases their children."[63] She took care not to set the women apart from men but to note that "many of the problems and much of the daily life of these women were shared by all printers of the time."[64] To that extent the work might be said to have been influenced by the consensus school but only if one broadens the term to include a consensus approach to relations between the sexes. This defies reason applied to a time when women lacked any political power.

RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

The outpouring of new scholarship on the history of women in journalism spurred by the women's movement often took the form of biography with a feminist flavor. Of the twenty-six articles on women from 1974 to 1983 in *Journalism History* alone, thirteen were biographical studies of individuals or groups. Along with other works published during this period, these studies treated women as serious individuals intent on journalistic careers in spite of overwhelming prejudice against them. Among the *Journalism History* articles were overviews of the history of women journalists by Marion Marzolf, who incorporated this material into her 1977 book, *Up From the Footnote*.[65] Her purpose was to show that the woman reporter through the years had been "tough-minded, determined, aggressive, intelligent, independent and professional" as well as "compassionate, hopeful, intuitive and warmly human." According to Marzolf, "Professionalism has been her code, and by it she's won the respect and admiration of her colleagues and bosses."[66]

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"Washington's prestigious Gridiron Club, founded in 1908, continued its 'stag only' membership policy until November 1974, when it voted to accept women members." – Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote*.
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The tone of articles in *Journalism Quarterly* showed a decided change. For example, a single issue in 1977 contained a record two articles on the history of women journalists. One was on a colonial editor, Elizabeth Timothy, and the other on Western suffrage newspapers and their editors.[67] Unlike articles of the previous decade, these works treated their subjects as capable individuals and focused on their careers, not their appearance.

Similarly biographies of women journalists stressed their professional accomplishments. A 1972 biography of Anne Royall pointed out the importance of her work to American historians today.[68] *Great Women of the Press*, which appeared in 1983,

62. Oldham, 6.
63. Oldham, 7.
64. Oldham, 7.
65. Marion Marzolf, "The Woman Journalist: Colonial Printer to City Desk," *Journalism History* 1 (1974–75, 1975): 100–6, 146; 24–27, 32.
66. Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote*, vii.
67. Ira L. Baker, "Elizabeth Timothy: America's First Woman Editor," and Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "The New Northwest and Woman's Exponent: Early Voices for Suffrage," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1977): 280–85, 286–92.
68. Bessie R. James, *Anne Royall's U.S.A.* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), viii.

contained eighteen biographical sketches of significant journalists (including Anne Royall, Sarah Hale, and Jane Swisshelm) from the colonial to the Vietnam era. Its authors, Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, offered the stories of "heroines" who, according to Schilpp and Murphy, remained in the shadows because of social restraints and neglect.[69] The title appeared to have been chosen as a counterpart to the romantic "great men" theme of journalism history, although the sketches themselves emphasized journalistic achievement.

Barbara Belford's *Brilliant Bylines*, published in 1986, combined biographical sketches of twenty-four notable newspaperwomen with samples of their work but was not designed to "examine whether women journalists wrote any differently than men," Belford stated. Instead the anthology aimed to "show how the careers of women who became journalists . . . and what they wrote were shaped by both personal and economic necessity and by the demands of the newspaper editors of their era."[70]

In addition to biographical studies, the new scholarship embraced studies of women's publications from a feminist perspective. A three-part series in *Journalism History* traced the history of feminist periodicals, pointing out that this genre "is an important historical record of the status of women in the twentieth century, as well as a record of the goals and philosophies of the women's liberation movement."[71] It called attention to two competing definitions of feminism: the conservative, advocating legal changes, and the liberation, proposing "total eradication of sex roles."[72] The author, Anne Mather, included most publications aimed at women from *The Lady's Magazine* of 1792 through the women's liberation movement of the early 1970s.

Other scholars provided detailed analysis of individual publications. Lynne Masel-Walters wrote on two national suffrage newspapers, the *Woman's Journal*, devoted to moral causes, and its more radical counterpart, *The Revolution*, both of which, Walters argued, made a significant impact on society.[73] In her exhaustive research Sherilyn Cox Bennion analyzed twelve suffrage newspapers of the West. She concluded that they "provided a forum for a cause which had time—and justice—on its side."[74] Sandra Roff looked at "ladies' periodicals" of the eight-

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"By and large . . . men in newspaper work have been uniformly friendly, sometimes extremely helpful, to their women coworkers, even to the point of changing typewriter ribbons for them—a simple task at which the female ingenuity appears invariably to bog down."
– Stanley Walker's foreword to Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press.*

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69. Madelon G. Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983).
70. Barbara Belford, *Brilliant Bylines* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), x.
71. Anne Mather, "A History of Feminist Periodicals," *Journalism History* 1 (1974–75): 82–85; (Winter 1984–85): 108–111; II (Spring 1985): 19–23, 31.
72. Mather, 82–83.
73. Lynne Masel-Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the 'Women's Journal,'" *Journalism History* 3 (1977): 103–10; and "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868–70," *Journalism Quarterly* 53 (1976): 242–51.
74. Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Woman Suffrage Papers of the West, 1869–1914," *American Journalism* 3 (1986): 140.

eenth and nineteenth centuries and found they were "an important outlet for feminine expression and together probably had some influence on trends in manners, morals, and literature."[75]

In the last decade an increasing number of works explicitly or implicitly subscribed to a cultural approach. For example, in the first issue of *American Journalism* in 1983, Linda Steiner explored the term "community" in relation to suffrage periodicals. She concluded that it was in the suffrage press "that women evolved intellectually and emotionally satisfying communal models for acting, thinking, judging and feeling."[76] In a 1986 article in *Journalism History*, Karen List explored women's roles in the new American nation through a study of early magazines. She asked why contradictions existed between what was printed and what apparently was addressed: "Why did the publications harp so continuously on women's domestic role if they did not fear some deviation from it?"[77] Another study looked at Vera Connolly, a Progressive journalist, from the standpoint of three intersections of American history: "The development of popular women's magazines, the legacy and direction of the Progressive movement after World War I, and the history of social feminism."[78]

"Suffrage papers articulated new values, suggested new dreams, and provided new perspectives on women's experiences, in the effort to evolve a new definition of womanhood and to carve out a new social order."
– Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals."

The development interpretation continued to mark work by journalists who turned their attention to the recent history of women in the field. Kay Mills, an editorial writer for the *Los Angeles Times*, argued in her book, *A Place in the News*, that the growing number of women journalists was "one segment of a massive social evolution." According to Mills, "anecdotal evidence is compelling that the presence of more women assigning, writing, and editing the news has altered the definition of news, although not firmly enough."[79] Historians, on the other hand, seek more than anecdotal evidence.

CONCLUSION

The new scholarship primarily began with what Gerda Lerner, former president of the Organization of American Historians, called "compensatory" history, or efforts to add women to the historical record. Although Lerner referred to women's history in general, her analysis also describes the outpouring of work in journalism history. Women were considered as notable figures worthy to be included in journalism history in terms of male achievements. In the last decade the new scholarship in

75. Sandra Shoiock Roff, "A Feminine Expression: Ladies' Periodicals in the New York Historical Society Collection," *Journalism History* 9 (1982): 98.
76. Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals," *American Journalism* 1 (1983): 12.
77. Karen K. List, "Magazine Portrayals of Women's Role in the New Republic," *Journalism History* 13 (1986): 69.
78. Mary Ellen Waller-Zuckerman, "Vera Connolly: Progressive Journalist," *Journalism History* 15 (1988): 80.
79. Kay Mills, *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1988), 7.

journalism history, like that in women's history, has moved into a second stage. Lerner termed this "contribution" history. Applied to journalism history, it has judged the contribution women journalists made to various social movements, particularly suffrage. Each movement, however, has been considered in terms of standards set by men.[80]

It is encouraging that journalism historians have raised questions about historiography as part of the new scholarship. The late Catherine L. Covert challenged three key male assumptions of journalism history—that journalism history is about winning, autonomy, and change. She called for history integrating women's, as well as men's, experience, by embracing "failure and despair as well as success and impact, and rhythms of repetition and return as well as innovation and change."[81]

One of the most prolific and influential of the new scholars, Susan Henry, utilized a variety of approaches—including content analysis, economic and social studies, biographical interpretation, literary evidence, and public records—in her extensive work on colonial women printers.[82] Henry also has called for more attention to the private lives of both men and women journalists to understand their decisions.[83] In a *Journalism Quarterly* article, she addressed the question of women's roles in newspaper families by a study of Eliza A. Otis, wife of Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*.[84]

At the American Journalism Historians Association convention in 1987, Zena Beth McGlashan, a feminist historian, noted that "paradigms are in progress" for study of women journalists as scholars move beyond the "great women" approach.[85] Her own work illustrated her reconceptualization: her study of Rheta Childe Dorr documented the relationship between women's pages and advocacy journalism on behalf of women.[86] In another study, McGlashan argued that women were allowed greater flexibility than men to write about the Russian Revolution of 1917 because they were not given as much credibility.[87]

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"Newspaper dynasties . . . can and should be better studied as family operations. . . . Many male publishers in newspaper families had wives who did important but less visible work as 'journalistic comrades.'"

– Susan Henry, "'Dear Companion, Ever-Ready Co-Worker.'"

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80. Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 145–47.
81. Catherine L. Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change," *Journalism History* 8 (1981): 6.
82. Susan Henry, "Colonial Woman Printer as Prototype: Toward a Model for the Study of Minorities," *Journalism History* 3 (1976): 20–24.
83. Susan Henry, "Private Lives: An Added Dimension for Understanding Journalism Lives," *Journalism History* 6 (1979–80): 98–102.
84. Susan Henry, "'Dear Companion, Ever-Ready Co-Worker: A Woman's Role in a Media Dynasty," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (1987): 301–12.
85. Zena Beth McGlashan, "The Great Woman Syndrome: A Paradigm in Process" (Paper delivered at convention of the American Journalism Historians Association, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1 October 1987).
86. Zena Beth McGlashan, "Club 'Ladies' and Working 'Girls': Rheta Childe Dorr and the *New York Evening Post*," *Journalism History* 8 (1981): 7–13.
87. Zena Beth McGlashan, "Women Witness the Russian Revolution: Analyzing Ways of Seeing," *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 54–61.

What is unmistakable is that many works on the history of women journalists definitely do not fit within the categories identified by Sloan, which are based on the male orientation of the field. As Henry theorized, the work to date on women's history has been generally conservative but within an expanding feminist context. The trend appears to be in the direction of exploring the tensions and ambiguities between women's experiences and journalism itself. If this is done in depth, a new, more truthful, and much more compelling journalism history will be produced. That journalism history, unlike what we have had to date, must encompass the history of minority women now almost ignored except for a few "notables" like Ida Wells-Barnett.[88]

According to Lerner, what is needed in American history is a "synthesis—a history of the dialectic, the tensions between the two cultures, male and female."[89] A start has been made in journalism history, as in an article on Ida Tarbell that examined her inner conflict between journalism and marriage.[90] The history of women in journalism no longer is replete with the biases, omissions, and distortions that characterized much earlier writing. But it has a vast way to go before a true synthesis is reached.

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88. Schilpp and Murphy, 121–32.
89. Lerner, 159.
90. Robert Stinson, "Ida M. Tarbell and the Ambiguities of Feminism," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 217–39.

CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW: OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, THE FIRST AMENDMENT, AND JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING.
By Jeremy Cohen.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1989, 164 pp.
• $21.95, Cloth

ANYONE INTERESTED in the Supreme Court and the First Amendment will want to read this brief, cogent book by Jeremy Cohen. An assistant professor at Stanford University's Department of Communication, Cohen uses Oliver Wendell Holmes's decision in *Schenck v. the United States* to illuminate the judicial process and its connections with constitutional interpretations, specifically of the First Amendment. The *Schenck* case, decided in 1919, marked the first time in the 130-year history of the Supreme Court that someone asked it to use the First Amendment to prevent government prosecution. Elizabeth Baer and Charles Schenck had been convicted of violating the 1917 Espionage Act by distributing circulars urging draft resistance. In upholding their conviction, Justice Holmes enunciated the "clear-and-present-danger" doctrine and compared seditious speech to "falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic."

Because of these memorable phrases, scholars both in and out of the legal community have seen *Schenck* as a First Amendment case, the first of a line of cases setting the precedents on which our ideas about freedom of speech are based. However, Cohen looks behind and around these words to conclude that the judicial process that produced the opinion had little to do with the First Amendment. He points out that Holmes concentrated in his opinion on answering questions about technical rules and statutory interpretations, giving little attention to First Amendment considerations and instead applying the logic of past nonspeech cases to his reasoning. Holmes asked not whether speech was protected by the First Amendment, but whether speech could be treated as an act, and he decided that the antidraft circular was in fact an action rather than speech and thus subject to legislative control.

Schenck, Cohen suggests, makes a better example of jurisprudence in 1919 than of Holmes's beliefs about freedom of speech. Holmes did not have to develop a comprehensive interpretation of the First Amendment in order to settle the case, and doing so would have been out of step with accepted judicial practices. Later, the precedent of *Schenck* returned to haunt Holmes, as he moved toward a more careful consideration of the First Amendment and became a dissenter in Supreme Court cases involving freedom of speech.

Along the way to his conclusion that those concerned with the First Amendment must understand the legal context within which it operates, as well as the theory and philosophy of the First Amendment itself, Cohen provides an excellent summary of the unwritten "code of behavior" of the Supreme Court and a fascinating look at the ideas and philosophy of Oliver Wendell Holmes, a "driving force" on the Supreme Court for almost three decades. He also examines *Schenck* in detail, analyzing background, arguments, and decision.

Appendices offer the text of the 1917 Espionage Act and its 1918 amendment, along with the text of *Schenck*, marred slightly by a typographical error that repeats two lines and confuses the sense of the first paragraph of the opinion. Notes are copious, but a bibliography would have made a valuable addition to the book. A foreword by Professor Everette E. Dennis, executive director of the Gannett Center for Media Studies, provides a nice preview.

Implicit in Cohen's sense

of *Schenck* as a weak foundation for a First Amendment philosophy is a reminder of the recency and fragility of rights we often take for granted—another valuable contribution of this readable and well-argued work.

. . . Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State University

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AND THEIR CHILDREN AFTER THEM.
Dale Maharidge and Michael Williamson.
• Pantheon Books
• 1989, 262 pp.
• $22.95, Cloth

JAMES AGEE WENT to Alabama with Walker Evans in the summer of 1936 to write about tenant farming. In Hale County they found three ragged sharecroppers looking for assistance. The farmers took them in, posed for Evans's photographs, and exposed their families to Agee's relentless scrutiny.

Agee ostensibly tried to hide the sharecroppers' identity by parodying their names. He also changed the names of nearby towns and landmarks but left enough clues so that anyone with a map and a copy of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* could practically knock on the tenants' doors. Agee was well aware that he was doing the unpardonable, and the book is an indictment of just this sort of exploitive journalism. The true gothic horror for the reader is the unwitting complicity in the voyeurism of the authors. It is a disturbing work of enduring power.

So now comes another writer and another photographer to rustle what's left of the three families' privacy, and if you quailed at the original, you're going to quake at the sequel. Agee and Evans don't always come off well. One of the sharecroppers' children, Clair Bell, says that either Agee or Evans—she doesn't remember which—accidentally knocked her down and sent her into a coma. In *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, Agee did not tell how the accident happened, but he did predict that Clair Bell wouldn't live long because of it. Maharidge says Agee knew before the book was published that the child recovered, but chose not to remove his poetic lamentation from the text. If this is true, Agee's omission of the cause of the accident and his literary exploitation of it are pretty devastating. But Maharidge and Williamson tamper with their own facts by telling us, in an appendix on page 258, that Clair Bell was "almost killed in an accident caused by Agee." That's better copy, but they're more certain about who knocked down Clair Bell than Clair Bell is.

Maharidge politely uses the names Agee invented, then tries to make up new names for scores of in-laws and offspring of the twenty-two original family members. Also included are neighbors, townsfolk, and even people with no connection to the original work. It's sometimes difficult to tell which names and places are invented as the authors widen the focus of the original project. And because the real names of the original tenants have been published in the *New York Times* and elsewhere, the identity of practically everyone in the new book by now must be the worst-kept secret in Alabama.

Maharidge does a superb job of explaining the breakdown of the cotton economy, however, and Williamson's photographs are the equal of Evans's classic work. Their book is an excellent companion volume to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, with reportorial and imaginative power of its own. Together the books become the two movements in a twentieth-century fugue.

When Annie Mae Gudger, the Mona Lisa of the Depression, learns that her former landlord has been buried in a plot that will adjoin hers, she knows that only in death will they meet on equal terms. "Oh my," she tells her son. "Look who I'm gonna be buried by. He give me hell when I was living." As Agee foresaw, there was little ahead for most of the tenants but tragedy, yet he died tragically before any of the people he wrote about. "He was a mess," says Emma Woods, Annie

Mae's sister. "My goodness, I could turn around and write a book on him."

. . . Paul Ashdown
University of Tennessee

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MARY HEATON VORSE: THE LIFE OF AN AMERICAN INSURGENT.
By Dee Garrison.
• Temple University Press
• 1989, 400 pp.
• $27.95, Cloth

WRITING RED: AN ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN WOMEN WRITERS, 1930–1940.
Edited by Charlotte Nekola and Paula Rabinowitz, with a foreword by Toni Morrison.
• Feminist Press
• 1987, 368 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth; $12.95, Paper

THIS PAIR OF books is highly recommended. Together, they illuminate the history of American radical women writers—a history that has often been overlooked.

Undeservedly, because it is a vital and significant history. For instance, Mary Heaton Vorse (1874–1966) was "the foremost pioneer of labor journalism in the United States," as Dee Garrison, a history professor at Rutgers University, demonstrates convincingly in this splendid biography. Vorse was prominent in the women's universal suffrage movement, and she devoted her life to the causes of feminism, libertarian socialism, and world peace. She rebelled against her wealthy New England family's restrictive traditions at a young age, moving to Greenwich Village in the early 1900s. There Vorse was an editor for the *Masses*. She became a charter member of the Provincetown Players, a member of the Liberal Club and the Heterodoxy Club—intimately part of the Left's political, cultural, and feminist avant-garde. Her close friends included Susan Glaspell and George "Jig" Cram Cook, Max Eastman, Neith Boyce and Hutchins Hapgood, John Dos Passos, Lincoln Steffens, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Vorse's literary output included sixteen books, two plays, and hundreds of articles and short stories in major journals, newspapers, and magazines. Twice widowed, Vorse wrote immensely popular women's fiction for magazines to support herself and her three children. Dashing off what she called "lollypops" to pay her bills, she could then devote herself to the incisive labor and war reporting that drove her. Yet her popular fiction was of high quality, frequently departing from formula to explore contemporary women's issues and concerns.

Vorse covered Lenin's Moscow during the Bolshevik Revolution, and she reported from Hitler's Germany during the rise of the Nazis. She was there at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, the Lawrence textile strike, the Great Steel Strike of 1919, and the uprisings in Gastonia, North Carolina, and Bloody Harlan County in Kentucky. She reported regularly on the CIO during the 1930s. Unlike her labor journalist contemporaries, Vorse often took part in the very strikes she covered. Garrison writes that "[Vorse's] inside knowledge of union strategy, combined with her fervent commitment to accurate reporting, brought uncommon depth and feeling to her work," helping to assure publication in major mainstream magazines such as *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and the *Atlantic* that were usually closed to leftist writers.

Vorse's audiences were several, also including intellectuals and reformers in the *Masses*, *Nation*, and *New Republic*, and workers in her innumerable pieces for union newspapers, newsletters, and broadsides for the union press. During World War II, according to Garrison, Vorse may have been the oldest official American war correspondent. In the 1950s she lived in semi-retirement in Provincetown, still writing. Her last major story was an expose of crime in waterfront unions, published in *Harper's* in 1952, when she was 78. When she was 82, the FBI finally stopped adding to its substantial file on her. At 91, Vorse remained a crusader, supporting a young Provincetown minister who was one of the

first to march against the Vietnam War.

Researching and writing this, the first full-length biography of Vorse's life, must have been a fascinating, challenging task. As Garrison recounts, Vorse wrote, "You must understand, that when I was very young, Life said to me, 'Here are two ways—a world running to mighty cities, full of the spectacle of bloody adventure, and here is home and children. Which will you take, the adventurous life, or a quiet life?' 'I will take both, I said.'"

Her biographer leaves no doubt that Mary Heaton Vorse is "one of the most compelling and representative figures in the history of American radicalism." Garrison attributes the slighting of Vorse in the history of American radicalism in part to "the effect upon scholarship of sexism and the Cold War." Vorse, after all, devoted fifty-four years of her life to activism for libertarian socialism, feminism, and world peace. Garrison makes a convincing argument that "this union of ideas was far too radical for most of her contemporaries to consider—another reason for the scholarly inattention paid her life."

So this full-length biography is particularly welcome. Its quality is uncommonly high. Writing with warmth, grace, and wit, Garrison provides plenty of personal details while always interpreting Vorse's life within a richly detailed context of the history of American radicalism. The result is an intimate exploration of Mary Heaton Vorse enriched by an understanding of the culture and politics of her time. Garrison's research is careful and wide-ranging. She utilized more than a score of far-flung archival collections, including Vorse's papers at Wayne State University, the Emily Balch Papers at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, the John Dos Passos Papers at the University of Virginia, the Josephine Herbst Papers and Edmund Wilson Papers at Yale University, and the American Relief Administration Papers at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace Archives at Stanford University. She also consulted FBI case files on Vorse, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Robert Minor, and personally interviewed about fifty of Vorse's relatives, friends, and colleagues.

Mary Heaton Vorse is a model of biographical scholarship. Well-researched and written, it is interpretive without excessive psychologizing, providing a detailed discussion of the background culture and politics. Its impeccable scholarship establishes it as an important book for historians, but it is so compellingly written that it will likely command a wide popular audience as well. Most important for journalism historians, it uncovers the history of a very significant labor journalist. This biography makes plain that any discussion of the history of American radical journalism must include Mary Heaton Vorse.

Nekola and Rabinowitz's *Writing Red: An Anthology of American Women Writers, 1930–1940* also makes its major contribution in uncovering radical history—in this case, the history of a large group of radical women writers. As Paula Rabinowitz, an English professor at the University of Minnesota and published poet, writes in the thoughtful introduction, "Feminist attempts to recover lost women writers have, for the most part, ignored the 1930s as a fertile era of women's literary production. The prevailing depiction of the rise, fall, and subsequent rise of waves of feminist activity places the 1930s within the great hiatus between suffrage and the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963."

Yet the 1930s were anything but a hiatus, as this anthology shows. It includes short biographical sketches and representative works from nearly fifty women, including fiction writers, poets, and journalists. At least half were working-class white and black women. Some are comparatively well known, such as Meridel LeSueur (born 1900), Agnes Smedley (1892–1950), Anna Louise Strong (1885–1970), Tillie Olsen (born 1913), Dorothy Day (1897–1980), Josephine Herbst (1892–1969), and Mary Heaton

Vorse (1874–1966). Others have truly been rescued from oblivion—an oblivion not attributable to their writing ability or achievements, but more likely to their gender and politics. The latter group includes Marita Bonner (1899–1971), Ella Winter (1898–1980), Joy Davidman, and Mary Inman.

Journalism historians will be particularly interested in part 3, "Reportage, Theory, and Analysis," which features the work of twenty journalists, including Herbst, Smedley, Strong, Olsen, Vorse, Day, LeSueur, Ella Ford, Ruth Gruber, and Vivian Dahl. Subjects range from peasants in wartime China (Smedley), the plight of women cotton sharecroppers (Elaine Ellis), and capitalism's exploitation of women (Grace Hutchins), to a garment workers' strike (Mary Guimes Lear) and New York's Lower East Side poor (Day).

Charlotte Nekola's introductory essay to this section gives a detailed summary of the history of Depression-era women journalists. As Nekola, a published poet who holds a Ph.D. in English from the University of Michigan, observes, "Women reporters in the 1930s rode mules through revolutionary Cuba, shared trenches with troops in the Spanish Civil War, and interviewed sea captains in the Soviet Arctic. Within the United States, their work ranged from first-person accounts of strikes, to a discussion of the relationship between black women and the steel industry, to accounts of work conditions in mills and department stores, to an analysis of the politics of lynching in the South. The depth and range of their work far exceeds the parameters of . . . the usual range of women's work in journalism in the first decade of the twentieth century." "Yet," Nekola notes, "the history of radical women journalists is almost totally absent from accounts of documentary of that era and from recent accounts of women in journalism." In making this point, she provides a most useful review of the literature in this area.

Writing Red does much to correct the historical record. As the novelist Toni Morrison writes in a brief foreword, this anthology helps us "see clearly that the '1930s radicalism [that] appears to be a masculine preserve' is in fact peopled with questioning, caring, socially committed women writers." Historians of the American left and of American radical journalism will find *Writing Red* absorbing and informative.

. . . *Nancy Roberts*
University of Minnesota

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THE GOOD TIMES.
By Russell Baker.
• William Morrow & Co.
• 1989, 352 pp.
• $19.95, Cloth

HORATIO ALGER heroes like Dan the Newsboy rose to fame and fortune by Pluck and Luck. They had widowed mothers, they were hard-working and courageous, and they were on the spot to save financiers' daughters from the hooves of runaway horses and be rewarded with good jobs. Russell Baker too, had a widowed mother, and in *The Good Times* he starts out just like Dan, peddling newspapers. But he rose rapidly to fame and at least minor fortune (his latest book will help) without saving any financiers' daughters.

How did he do it? Some people, apparently searching for something negative to say, have chided the author for working an aw-shucks modesty ploy about his success. But they seem to have overlooked a point that Baker makes quite clearly: he was born with a family talent for words, what he calls the "word gene." As anyone can see from the quality of this wonderful sequel to *Growing Up* (1982), he knows how to use it.

While consistently absorbing and amusing, *The Good Times* has much more seriousness than meets the browsing eye. There is scorn in the portrait of the self-aggrandizing loudmouth who was Baker's executive editor at the *Baltimore Sun* and in the depiction of the lordly attitude of the *Sunpapers* owners toward their editorial staff. There is equally intense admiration for city editor Ed Young and especially for Ellis Baker III (no kin), a Baltimore blueblood

who sacrificed a splendid future as an editor in order to organize for the American Newspaper Guild. Most of the time, however, Baker presents his many journalistic colleagues without either anger or adulation, but with detachment and Dickensian relish. For the many who passed some years in news work in Baltimore in the first decade after World War II, as did this reviewer, it will be a delight to revisit the establishment on Calvert Street, to see again the legendary managing editor Buck Dorsey—he of the unblinking stare—or the swashbuckling Patrick Skene Catling—he who once slugged a printer in a dispute over a typographical error in one of his stories. There are many other portraits of newspaper people met along other paths on Baker's upward journey: Turner (Catfish) Catledge, the *New York Times*' managing editor; James Reston, Washington correspondent and columnist; the brilliant and bibulous Italian correspondent Ruggiero Orlando, who actually could tell one vintage year of the same wine from another without a scorecard.

The Good Times could also serve as a journalism textbook. It hilariously—and instructively—presents the pitfalls of police reporting, comments extensively on the insiders' cliches of journalism, and gives a detailed picture of the operations of a modern daily, complete with the daily despairs and resilient hopes of its staff. Baker's description of the limitations of White House reporting should be read by everybody who wants to know how the presidential staff manages the news—conducting a charade of announcing inconsequential events while keeping the important stuff under wraps. Speaking of Jim Hagerty, Eisenhower's very competent press secretary, Baker writes: "We stood around his desk while a secretary passed out mimeographed announcements . . . presidential statements on the importance of National Rutabaga Week, transcripts of . . . welcoming remarks to the visiting prime minister of Zippity Zap. . . . We traded banter, asked a few cheeky questions to which we didn't expect answers, and a few serious ones, to which Jim said, 'No comment,' or 'I'll check that out and get back to you.'"

Covering the Senate for the *New York Times*, Baker got out of the White House reporters' "cage" and into the bewildering and dangerous world where senators alternately avoided reporters and courted them, seeking to trade information for favorable publicity. The reporters, in turn, were constantly in danger of being lured into membership in the insiders' club, where publishing some facts would be regarded as disloyalty. Baker's description of encounters with the flesh-pressing, arm-twisting Lyndon Johnson is one of the many fascinating sections of a book that, like most of Baker's writing, is deceptively casual but ultimately rather serious.

The number of reminiscenses by journalists on "how I scooped the world" is very high. Baker prefers to tell us how he often failed to scoop the world. Instead, he merely gives us a fascinating, amusing, and sometimes poignant memoir that also happens to be a first-class set of lessons on journalism ethics and a valuable chapter of journalism history.

. . . Edward A. Nickerson
University of Delaware

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THE BATTLE TO CONTROL BROADCAST NEWS: WHO OWNS THE FIRST AMENDMENT?

By Hugh Carter Donahue.
- MIT Press
- 1989, 240 pp.
- $19.95, Cloth

THIS BOOK AIMS to explain the evolution of the concepts of equal time and fairness in American broadcasting. Hugh Carter Donahue argues that restrictions imposed on broadcasters were never justified and the public has suffered greatly as a result. He begins by explaining how, starting in the late 1920s, political figures began to assess the uses of radio. He traces the national struggle over policy issues related to radio's utilization in the political arena. The author has a

distinct point of view and presents his free speech inquiry in this context, pointing out that Congress, the courts, and the FCC allowed the rights of broadcast listeners and viewers to be eroded, along with professional standards.

Donahue's first chapter offers a perspective on the start of the licensing system in 1927, leading to the emergence of equal time as the dominant model, bolstered by support from politicians eager to mount radio campaigns. He discusses the ideological and sectional politics that came into play, and the role of Herbert Hoover as commerce secretary and architect of American broadcast regulation. Donahue points to themes presented and reinforced by Hoover as part of the national radio conferences, 1922–25: public interest, listener sovereignty, spectrum scarcity—principles later given regulatory clout. The emergence and success of Sen. Clarence C. Dill and his work on the creation of Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 offered legislation that insured access and provided broadcaster discretion in political programming. According to Donahue, proponents of nationalization within Franklin Roosevelt's administration had been manipulated to get maximum exposure for programs of the New Deal.

Chapter 2 focuses on Roosevelt's time in office and the challenges he brought to bear on broadcast licensees. At first, they feared he might nationalize broadcasting to help bring the country out of the Depression. After that fear subsided, Roosevelt's efforts to control the FCC as a means of keeping broadcasters compliant are explored as well as the aftermath—an agenda setting the stage for the Fairness Doctrine. Beyond this national agenda, Donahue does a credible job of placing broadcasting's regional disputes in a broader context. For example, in chapter 3, "The Articulation of Fairness," he looks at a precedent-setting Boston case as a lead into the historic Mayflower decision. He then integrates this material with information on network positions, citing William S. Paley and William L. Shirer. Shirer complained that CBS's performance during this period deprived the public of insight into the Nazi movement abroad and the rise of Adolph Hitler. Similarly, Donahue argues that the FCC, in rejecting advice that a fairness policy would be impossible to enforce, entered a legal and regulatory swamp that inhibited political uses of broadcasting from reaching their fullest potential.

The sections that follow focus on Lar Daly's Chicago challenge and the FCC decision in that case, as well as the subsequent authorization by Congress to exempt from equal time "bona fide" news events, interviews, and incidental and on-the-spot news coverage. Of course, Congress's suspension of equal time for the "Great Debates" of 1960 is discussed, as well as each of three decisions a decade later involving citizen participation in license renewals, the stripping of a license, and one upholding the constitutionality of the Fairness Doctrine. Discussion of broadcast debate issues and policy decisions, involvement by the League of Women Voters, press performance and issues related to technologically driven changes in First Amendment law, the rise and fall of television documentaries, and the role of political advertising constitute most of the remainder of the book, along with a chronology of innovations in political communications.

In the concluding chapters, Donahue presents the view that ownership of the First Amendment among broadcasters, politicians, and interest groups is still up for grabs. He also notes that the courts and Congress have not yet decided, and legal experts still disagree, on the nature of the problem and the extent of its importance. Throughout, Donahue takes every opportunity to denigrate the Fairness Doctrine, calling it "an illusory mechanism for interest groups to influence public opinion" (180). He argues that no law should restrict broadcasters' freedom of expression and concludes with an evaluation of the 1988 candidate debates and presidential election. He notes the similarity of

Michael Dukakis's to Adlai Stevenson's position thirty-six years earlier—each fought a losing battle against a better-known Republican challenger who succeeded in caricaturing the liberal views of his opponent. He points out how George Bush's confrontation with Dan Rather, which is pictured on the dust cover of the book, had the effect of elevating the candidate over the Iran-Contra issue.

Donahue provides a carefully researched account of broadcast performance using a wide range of source material. We frequently hear that scholarship in journalism history is executed in a vacuum or isolated context. That is not the case here. Donahue's background as a television news writer and producer and documentary filmmaker comes into play in his assessment of television's performance. For example, at the end of the chapter on documentaries, he points out how both broadcast journalists and politicians tend to gain professionally from the status quo in public affairs reporting. He offers the view that the Fairness Doctrine inhibited documentaries because of partisan efforts to impose ideological agendas on broadcasters. He also laments the decline of what he terms "public intellectuals" such as Walter Lippmann and Robert Hutchins, because broadcast journalists are both ill-suited and reluctant to offer explanations of events. This is, therefore, a provocative and worthwhile book. It is thoroughly researched and well-written, and offers a viewpoint that is frequently overlooked.

. . . Michael D. Murray
Univ. of Missouri-St. Louis

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THE AMBIVALENT IMAGE: NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA'S PERCEPTION OF THE JEW.
By Louise A. Mayo.
• Fairleigh Dickinson University Press
• 1988, 224 pp.
• $30, Cloth

EVEN THOUGH LOUISE A. Mayo has divided her splendid book, *The Ambivalent Image: Nineteenth-Century America's Perception of the Jew*, into such chapters as "The Religious Image," "Political and Ideological Images," and "Eastern European Jews," as well as one devoted solely to magazine and newspaper coverage of attitudes toward Jews, the media are central throughout the book because she has drawn her examples and conclusions from a vast array of mass-circulation and specialized publications.

Anyone who has ever done original source research will recognize this as a work made cogent by the author's restraint. In her search through what surely amounted to hundreds of thousands of printed pages, Mayo must have collected gem upon quotable gem. And yet, like a careful defense attorney gathering just those precedents vital to the case but not all the rulings, Mayo is liberal with her quotes, but not redundant. Her point—that throughout out the nineteenth century the image of Jew was consistent only in its inconsistency—is repeated time and again but in such insightful and often entertaining ways that the reader is carried along, easily absorbed but never bored. Through references to religious periodicals, vitally important to American culture particularly in the first two-thirds of the century, to novels and plays, as well as to news stories and magazine articles, Mayo describes the "profound dichotomy" that marked the depiction of Jews, ranging from "the high-minded German philanthropist" to the "wild-eyed Russian anarchist, the shrewd, driving businessman, the meek tailor," and on to images as diverse as "the chosen people and the Christ killers."

Coverage of Jews was sporadic, indicating a "lack of any real deep tensions" between the Jewish community and the middle- and upper-class Christians who dominated northern urban society. But in the 1880s, when the flood of poor, Eastern European immigrants began, "sympathy struggled with distaste on the pages of newspapers and maga-

zines." Readers who recognize the schisms inherent in any group's hierarchical structure will not be surprised at her conclusion that of all the newspapers studied, the *New York Times*, owned by the conservative, upwardly mobile Adolph Ochs, a Jew married to a rabbi's daughter, was the most "hostile and anxious to exclude (immigrant) Jews as undesirable."

Mayo avoids speculating as to why certain publications indulged in stereotyping and racism, but freely notes changes in individual journalists when readily discernible in their works. Jacob Riis, for example, was ambivalent about Jews and repeated stereotyped images in his 1890 milestone, *How the Other Half Lives*, but by 1898, in *Out of Mulberry Street*, had become "an energetic propagandist" for the Jewish immigrants. And, giving the press credit, Mayo concludes that newspapers and magazines were "far more responsive" to changes in the Jewish position in American society than were the literary, theatrical, and religious outlets.

The author's cool, even-handed presentation of her research resembles ideal reporting: Mayo does not become an advocate. And by not passing judgment—which would have been very easy given the commonness of blatantly anti-Semitic stereotyping such as the Shylock image—Mayo challenges us with unstated questions. Did the ambivalence of the nineteenth-century media toward American Jews contribute to the ambivalence of Americans when the Nazi death camps and pogroms were being reported in the U.S. mass circulation press both before and during World War II? And, looking ahead to the twenty-first century, will scholars then examine the mass media of this century to find that the communication and entertainment industries treated today's urban enclaves of Koreans, Vietnamese, and Cambodians, among others, as curiosities, only infrequently deserving of coverage and/or fair representation?

. . . *Zena Beth McGlashan*
University of North Dakota

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FROM WHISTLE STOP TO SOUND BITE: FOUR DECADES OF POLITICS AND TELEVISION.
By Sig Mickelson.
• Praeger
• 1989, 200 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth;$14.95, Paper

SIG MICKELSON HAS written a memoir of his work in the 1950s that either he, his literary agent, or his publisher insisted on labeling a history of TV and politics from 1948 to 1988. Perhaps Mickelson can be excused for this false packaging. He was the Natty Bumppo of CBS TV news producers. At a time when the best talent at CBS news was bound by contract to radio work, Mickelson, recently hired from WCCO in Minneapolis-St. Paul, supervised the telecasting of the signing of the peace treaty with Japan in 1951. Along the way, he gave another obscure newcomer to CBS, Walter Cronkite, his first big on-camera assignment. On behalf of all of the networks, Mickelson subsequently led negotiations with the national parties in arranging for the airing of the 1952 conventions. He was involved in the televising of the 1956 and 1960 gatherings as well as of the first TV presidential debate of 1960. In 1964, having left CBS, he oversaw TV convention arrangements for the Republican National Committee.

These experiences constantly inform *From Whistle Stop to Sound Bite.* Mickelson rightly reminds readers, some of whom take the slickly produced newscasts of the last two decades for granted, of the initial difficulties of producing news programs. In airing the 1952 and 1956 conventions, he notes, it took some courage to cut away from convention speakers in favor of showing something deemed more newsworthy. Convention managers had, after all, expected gavel-to-gavel coverage. And politicians of every type recognized that TV made new demands on them, and tried to adjust. For the 1952 Democratic conclave, even House Speaker Sam Rayburn, who detested the

newest medium, wore make-up.

Television did not, Mickelson frequently acknowledges, improve the nation's political culture, much as he and others had hoped it would. "Rather than expose charlatans through an X-ray eye," he writes, "television may have created a new soapbox for them. There is little evidence that voters are better informed. Judging by campaign tactics, the opposite may be true" (17).

Overall, Mickelson makes few of the wild claims for television that frequently can be found in such autobiographies. Compared to most industry veterans, Mickelson is familiar with a few scholarly studies of television and its effects. He does, in passing (116), exaggerate the impact of Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* investigation of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy. Yet that is an assertion that virtually no one who worked at CBS News or who admired Murrow deeply seems capable of questioning.

There are two far more serious problems with Mickelson's work. The first is hardly its fault. Virtually every book of this sort is the product of a CBS veteran (and Murrow the only broadcast journalist apparently worthy of a biography). NBC, which arguably had the more innovative and, certainly by the late 1950s, more popular news division, continues to be ignored in the popular histories of the fifth estate. Far more upsetting is the warmed-over quality to *From Whistle Stop to Sound Bite.* Mickelson told many of the same stories in his 1972 history of TV news, *The Electronic Mirror.* Although specialists in the history of television journalism will find a few new anecdotes, most journalism historians are advised to save their money by purchasing the latter volume in a used book store.

. . . James L. Baughman
University of Wisconsin

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VIOLENCE AND TERROR IN THE MASS MEDIA: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY.
Compiled by Nancy Signorielli and George Gerbner.
- Greenwood Press
- 1988, 264 pp.
- $39.95, Cloth

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN THE 1980S: A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS.
By Edward F. Mickolus, Todd Sandler, and Jean M. Murdock.
Volume 1, 1980–83.
- Iowa State University Press
- 1989, 568 pp.
- $54.95, Cloth

Volume 2, 1984–87.
- Iowa State University Press
- 1989, 696 pp.
- $64.95, Cloth

AN INDICATOR OF the increasing development of communications scholarship has been the growth in and specialization of communications bibliographies published in recent years. These three publications add to that literature by providing researchers significant new sources of literature review and information on the issue of media coverage of terrorism and, more generally, portrayals of violence.

Nancy Signorielli and George Gerbner provide an exceptionally useful compilation of thousands of journal articles, research reports, and books devoted to issues of media portrayals of terrorism and violence and their effects. This listing of materials is a valuable and useful addition to the literature and the backbone of the publication.

The bibliography's annotations are typically about one hundred words long, but mixed in depth and indication of each publication's findings. Given the nature and varying quality of research on the media and violence, however, this is not surprising. Although entries are not equally well-reviewed, the annotations more than adequately provide the reader with an overview of the approaches, issues, and general findings of each study. These will be quite useful to scholars culling the literature in search of specific types of studies to read and review.

The bibliography approaches the literature by dividing studies into those that focus on media content and those that focus on violent effects of media

content. Subdivisions explore literature on coverage of crime and media, civil disorders, and terrorism; effects of exposure to and perception of violence in media; the influence of media content on individual aggression; pornography and its relationship to violence; and cultivation studies. Studies from a variety of nations are included, so the bibliography provides a broad and less culturally biased look at the topic.

The chronologies of terrorist events produced by Edward Mickolus, Todd Sandler, and Jean Murdock make readily available to researchers on terrorism and media two of the best data sources on individual terrorist acts worldwide. They are drawn from the ITERATE database, which contains information on acts of terrorism, divided to account for 125 variables, including communications of terrorist groups during events. Although the information is available in data files for computer use, publication of the narrative description of events is useful in a variety of types of research on communication and terrorism or helps when computerized analysis of the entire variable list is impossible or unnecessary.

Although incidents are impressively documented and described, this chronology suffers from the major weakness of all event-based data sources: it is incomplete and biased because of its information sources. The database was built primarily using reports from the Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, major newspapers, and broadcast networks.

International communications scholars have well documented the blackout of coverage from much of the less-developed world in these media, and thus this data base can be expected to miss many events that the news-gathering organizations ignored. It also suffers from a weakness in that it does not include incidents of state-sponsored terrorism in which government security or military forces were the perpetrators. This is unfortunate because casualties from such violence are nearly ten times as high as that from non-state terrorism. The omission of state terrorism data, however, cannot be blamed merely on the authors of the chronology. Research has shown that this violence is rarely reported as terrorism and is often completely ignored by the news media. Because the ITERATE database relies on news reports, these chronologies suffer.

These weaknesses do not make this volume any less useful or impressive, however. They merely require that those who use the data in the printed narrative volumes or numeric computerized form must be aware of its omissions and that the chronologies do not provide a complete picture of terrorist violence worldwide. Thus, conclusions that they might draw based on use of the data must be carefully constructed.

. . . Robert G. Picard
Emerson College

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THE SPOT: THE RISE OF POLITICAL ADVERTISING ON TELEVISION.
Revised edition by Edwin Diamond and Stephen Bates.
• MIT Press
• 1988, 395 pp.
• $25, Cloth; $10.95, Paper

IN THIS BOOK the authors attempt to combine a general narrative history of political television commercials, a description of common advertising techniques, a discussion of rhetorical "modes" in campaign advertising, and an analysis of the effects of political spots. This ambitious undertaking is only partially successful.

The book is not strictly an academic work because it lacks detailed citations and footnotes. It is mostly based on interviews with nineteen leading political campaign consultants and a review of political commercials in archives at New York University. As such, it is filled with anecdotes and campaign "war stories" from these media consultants. Some of the stories and insights of these campaign consultants are fascinating, while others seem tired and self-serving. Some consultants, specially those based in New York, are quoted

more extensively than others. Much of the book is filled with full text and photos from television commercials.

This work is far different from Kathleen Jamieson's *Packaging the President* (1984), which is a more scholarly treatment of advertising in presidential campaigns. Unlike Jamieson's work, *The Spot* also covers advertising for a few U.S. Senate, congressional, and big-city mayoral races. The book sometimes seems superficial because it attempts to cover so much.

The strength of *The Spot* is contained in the insights offered by the consultants who were interviewed for the book, whom the authors refer to as "media men." These leading consultants include Tony Schwartz, David Garth, Robert Squier [sic], and Roger Ailes. A major point is that these media consultants have taken the leading role in modern election campaigns, while political party influence has diminished.

The authors categorize campaign ads into four types: ID (identification) spots, argument spots, attack spots, and "I see an America" spots. They also list certain rules for using ads, some of which seem obvious. For example, one rule states, "ID commercials work in getting the candidate known."

Surprisingly, the authors assert that "little has been written in any orderly fashion" about campaign television advertising, yet the authors themselves refer to several books and studies about campaign advertising.

The authors reject the popular conception that television ads are all-powerful "magic bullets" that can "sell candidates like soap." Instead, they conclude that there is a more serious danger to the growth of television advertising in politics, the danger of "turning elections and campaigns into a kind of spectator sport." The authors, however, do not make any firm suggestions about solving the problems of modern campaign advertising.

The large number of political advertisements and the insights of major campaign consultants in *The Spot* may make it worthwhile as a supplemental resource for a course on advertising and politics.

. . . John Y. McGinnis
St. John Fisher College

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HISTORICAL METHODS IN MASS COMMUNICATION.
By James Startt and William David Sloan.
• Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
• 1989, 216 pp.
• $24.50, Cloth

THIS IS A QUITE substantial guide to methods of historical research, with a focus on mass communication, that should be useful to students undertaking research term papers or theses, particularly in graduate seminars.

Startt, a history professor at Valparaiso University, and Sloan, a journalism professor at Alabama, strongly endorse and defend history as a research field, declaring "History is the preeminent study among the various fields of communication research, for it brings together the methods, findings, and insights of the others and shapes them into a coherent explanation of mankind." Social science research methods and quantification are treated with some reservations.

In three opening chapters the authors discuss the nature and fundamentals of history. Six chapters then present instructions on basic research procedures, searches for bibliographic sources, evaluation of types of historical sources, the problems of explanation and interpretation, writing style, and tips on paper presentations and publishing. Strongest of these six chapters are those on bibliographic sources and types of historical sources; weakest are those on writing style and historical explanation.

A twenty-page section listing bibliographical sources is encyclopedic in its nature. Presented in a dozen different categories, it suffers because citations are alphabetized, with almost no annotation or gradation in importance. The section on bibliographies in communication history has twenty-nine listings;

the beginning student researcher could be well advised to start with the volumes by Price, Price and Pickett, Blum (now Blum and Wilhoit), Sloan, McKerns, and Schwarzlose. Indeed, he or she could well begin with bibliographies in the leading general surveys: *The Press and America*'s (1988) updated sixty-seven pages of annotated listings, including dissertations and articles; Mott's absorbing end-of-chapter bibliographies; and those by Kobre, Bleyer, A.M. Lee, and Barnouw.

Similarly, in the excellent section on approaches to communication history in the bibliography, the student should be guided to the two chapters in Stempel and Westley's *Research Methods in Mass Communication* (1981)written by MaryAnn Yodelis Smith and byDavid Nord and Harold Nelson, and to *Communication History* (1980) by John Stevens and Hazel Dicken Garcia, particularly Garcia's chapter reviewing historical literature.

Startt and Sloan offer a good chapter tracing the rise and fall of six major schools of historical interpretation: nationalist, romantic, developmental, progressive, consensus, and cultural. But except for a brief mention in another chapter, they ignore the New Left or radical school which came to dominate American history as the consensus theory faded. Startt and Sloan discuss a few leading journalism historians in these schools, except for the progressive school. For it they offer three famous but highly opinionated writers: Oswald Garrison Villard, George Seldes, and Harold L. Ickes.

There are no mentions of the general surveys published in the 1970s: Tebbel, Rutland, Gordon, and Emery and Emery. Other items missing from the otherwise remarkably complete listings are Robert Hudson's *Mass Media Encyclopedia* (1987) and Marion Marzolf's *Up from the Footnote* (1977)—although her journal articles on women in the media are included.

. . . *Edwin Emery (retired)*
University of Minnesota

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PROUD DONKEY OF SCHAERBEEK: ADE BETHUNE, CATHOLIC WORKER ARTIST.
By Judith Stoughton.
• North Star Press
• 1988, 168 pp.
• $19.95, Cloth

THE CATHOLIC Worker movement, founded by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin in 1933, has received considerable attention in recent years for its pioneering role in transforming American Catholic social thought. Much less well-known is the movement's considerable influence on Catholic religious and liturgical art in this country. Most of that influence was felt through the work of a Belgian immigrant artist, Ade Bethune, who began her association with the Catholic Worker movement and its organ, the *Catholic Worker*, in 1933 and remains active at age seventy-five.

Bethune's artwork and articles have appeared in many other religious periodicals, including *Catholic Digest, Liturgical Arts, Fellowship, Liturgy and Sociology, Orate Fratres* (later known as *Worship*), and *Christian Social Art Quarterly* (later known as *Catholic Art Quarterly*). She has designed covers for several periodicals, including the *Catholic School Editor, Altar and Home, Liturgy and Sociology, Torch*, and *Interaction*.

This volume, the first book-length study of Bethune's life and work, provides ample visual and literary evidence of her extraordinary powers as a religious artist, and as a theorist and critic of what Stoughton properly calls "visual theology." Beautifully illustrated with numerous examples of the artist's work (including eight pages of color plates), the book diligently conveys valuable biographical information and presents a thorough retrospective of Bethune's long career. Unfortunately, *Proud Donkey of Schaerbeek* is more an appreciation and catalog than a critical art-historical study, and so provides the reader with few resources for interpreting the real significance of Bethune's work in any of its appropriate contexts. Neverthe-

less, this book will undoubtedly provide the starting point for more interpretive studies of Bethune's place in modern American art.

While seldom reaching beyond factual presentation, the volume does effectively convey the essential features of Bethune's fascinating life and arresting character. Born into an aristocratic but somewhat downwardly mobile Belgian family just before World War I, Bethune emigrated to the United States with her parents in 1928. From her highly cultured and intensely Roman Catholic family, Bethune inherited a serene spirituality and keen aesthetic tastes that were all the more potent for their seeming naturalness and ease of expression.

The encounter of this confident, budding young Belgian-American artist with Dorothy Day's radical American Catholic Worker movement in the fall of 1933 proved momentous for both parties. Bethune began illustrating Day's widely circulated tabloid paper, the *Catholic Worker*, with her forceful woodcuts of Catholic saints performing the works of mercy in contemporary, working-class modes. These illustrations became a central feature of the Catholic Worker tradition, and the attention they attracted from such American Catholic artistic pioneers as John Howard Benson and Graham Carey led directly to Bethune's subsequent successful career. Working initially out of the John Stevens Shop in Rhode Island, Bethune became an important figure in the liturgical arts movement that led up to Vatican II, and an eagerly sought church-building consultant in the United States and other countries. As a religious artist, she worked successfully in a great variety of media, including calligraphy, woodcarving, stained glass, fresco, and mosaic.

While only a very small portion of this work was directly connected with the Catholic Worker movement, Stoughton's designation of Bethune as a "Catholic Worker artist" is thoroughly justified because her aesthetic principles were profoundly shaped by the moral and spiritual outlook she derived from Day's radical movement. *Proud Donkey of Schaerbeek* provides enough examples of Bethune's aesthetic values to demonstrate their strong roots in both Christian mystical and liturgical tradition and in Bethune's rich, earthy Catholic sensibility.

While the text demonstrates how Bethune's commitment to these values enabled her to succeed as artist, teacher, and critic, it seldom delves much below the surface of her life and work. The quotations from Bethune's own writings show her to be an astute natural art critic, but she also displays something of the aristocratic practitioner's distaste for critical evaluation of her own aesthetic. Consequently, the absence here of much analysis of Bethune's work in relation to other modern and Christian art detracts significantly from the value of the study. Especially in the last chapters, the text becomes little more than an illustrated and annotated list of commissions and writings (though the volume lacks a separate catalog and bibliography). What artistic commentary there is fails to probe very far into Bethune's arresting images and ideas. Despite these flaws, this volume represents a beautiful, welcome tribute to a great artist and a holy woman.

. . . *Mel Piehl*
Valparaiso University

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FRANK W. MAYBORN: A MAN WHO MADE A DIFFERENCE.
By Odie B. and Laura E. Faulk.
• University of Mary Hardin-Baylor
• 1989, 291 pp.
• $19.95, Cloth

THE AUTHORS recount in considerable detail the accomplishments of Frank W. Mayborn (1903–87), whose family acquired the *Temple* (Texas) *Daily Telegram* just before the Wall Street crash of 1929. His father, Ward Mayborn, was a major executive for the Scripps-McRae newspaper chain. The first quarter of this well-annotated book describes, sometimes in al-

most trivial detail, young Mayborn's life as he moved with his family from his birthplace in Akron, Ohio, to Evansville, Denver, Cleveland, Dallas, and finally to Temple, where he found himself publisher of the *Daily Telegram* at age twenty-six, after a planned family enterprise went awry. Through hard work, political acumen, and promotion he built a small newspaper group in central Texas and became a pioneer in the radio and broadcast industries.

The success of his communications endeavors can be attributed in no small part to promotion of a wide variety of civic, military, cultural, educational, and political interests. Mayborn felt that the newspaper is a vital part of the community and should be run as such. The authors portray Mayborn as a "catalyst" who made things happen—one who used his influence as a media businessman and civic-minded citizen to enlist public and political support for projects he felt were in the best interests of central Texas, the state, and the nation.

These projects included medical and transportation facilities, industrial plants, Fort Hood (one of the largest armored training centers in the world), an enlarged Draughon-Miller airport, water and real estate development, a federal office building for Temple, and a wide variety of fund-raisers for educational and social causes. Attention is called to Mayborn's widely recognized efforts on behalf of young people and his grant of journalism scholarships and internships to Baylor, Texas, Texas A&M, North Texas, and Texas Tech Universities. He also gave educational grants to the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor and Peabody College in Nashville, as well as to other schools.

The Faulks describe how Mayborn, while building the *Temple Daily Telegram* into one of the state's top award-winning newspapers, expanded his holdings to include the *Killeen Daily Herald*, the *Sherman Democrat*, the *Taylor Daily Press*, and the *Fort Hood Sentinel*.

The volume details the problems Mayborn encountered in establishing radio station KTEM in Temple in 1936, the first station outside a major metropolitan area, and his unsuccessful early efforts in expanding KTEM to include FM broadcasting. Another broadcast endeavor was WMAK, a radio station in Nashville, which became important to Mayborn's educational interests in Peabody and Vanderbilt. The authors also describe Mayborn's efforts to bring better television service to central Texas through KCEN.

From 1939, when he became president of the Temple Chamber of Commerce and Board of Development, and later head of a War Industries Committee, this persuasive media entrepreneur developed an interest in military affairs and an influential association with political and military leaders of this country that affected the affairs of central Texas for the remainder of his life. In describing Mayborn's wartime activities, the authors recall that he refused a political commission and enlisted at age thirty-nine as a private in the Army. He spent much of his military service assigned to the Public Relations Division of Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces, in Europe, a position that helped him establish relationships that proved important to the success of post-war projects in central Texas. Mayborn held the rank of major by the time of his discharge.

Throughout this biography the authors describe how Mayborn's executive talents and decisiveness enabled him to manage a business empire, undertake assignments for the government, and still have time for numerous civic and cultural involvements. The last chapters of the book detail some of the awards and recognitions this influential publisher-broadcaster-businessman received from a wide variety of social, civic, educational and professional organizations.

. . . *Elsie S. Hebert*
Louisiana State University

RESEARCH PAPER COMPETITION
Commemorating the Bicentennial of the First Amendment

The American Journalism Historians Association will sponsor a special research paper competition emphasizing subjects addressing the history of freedom of expression in the United States. The competition is part of the association's activities in 1991 commemorating the bicentennial of the ratification of the First Amendment.

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Thomas A. Schwartz
School of Journalism
Ohio State University
242 W. 18th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

All research approaches are welcome. Submissions should be typed, double-spaced and in five copies. Submissions should be postmarked by February 15, 1991.

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A SPECIAL ISSUE OF *AMERICAN JOURNALISM*
Readings of James W. Carey's *Communication As Culture*

The Fall 1990 issue of *American Journalism* will feature three review essays on James W. Carey's recent book *Communication as Culture*. Each will assess Carey's contributions to the study of communication history. Professor Carey has agreed to respond to the three critiques.

The contributors will be:

David Eason, University of Utah
Carolyn Marvin, University of Pennsylvania
Michael Schudson, University of California at San Diego.

Readers of *American Journalism* are also invited to submit Research Notes on this general topic, for publication in that same issue. Such notes might comment on Carey's book, his impact on journalism history, or his contribution to the study of communication. Research Notes are typically 3-6 pages, written without footnotes.

Anyone planning to submit a Research Note for the Carey issue should send the Editor a precis by July 1, 1990. Finished essays must be submitted by August 15, 1990.

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Review Essay: Journalism History Textbooks

Women War Correspondents

Revolution in Print

News and Politics in the Age of Revolution

Freedom of Expression and Partisan Politics

Radio Warfare

Home Town News

Dreiser's Articles

Lucy Larcom

Right Times, Right Places

The St. Josephs-Blatt

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EDITORIAL PURPOSE. *American Journalism* publishes articles, research notes, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Such contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor John Pauly, Editor, *American Journalism*, Faculty of Communication, University of Tulsa, 600 S. College Avenue, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including notes and tables.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers, and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author has included a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussions of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, or suggestions for future research. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism*, or to propose a book for review, should contact Professor Nancy Roberts, Book Review Editor, *American Journalism*, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

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REFEREES. Thanks to the following editorial board members, who have recently read manuscripts for *American Journalism.*

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FROM THE EDITOR •

ONE CONSEQUENCE of all the recent interest in communication history has been a remarkable increase in the number of books being published in the field. In virtually all respects that increase has proved gratifying. With so many historical monographs now available, teaching classes is much easier today than it was ten or fifteen years ago. Moreover, each new book opens possibilities for our own work, adding range and depth to our understanding, provoking our curiosity anew.

Unfortunately all our new intellectual wealth has left us ever more time-poor, too. Perhaps for the first time in the history of our discipline, it has become virtually impossible for an individual to keep up with everything being written in communication history. With the nationwide expansion of programs in communication, with all the intense interest in communication technology, institutions, and practices, communication history has started to produce its own specializations. That is an old, familiar story to scholars in traditional disciplines such as history and literature, but it is still news to us.

To help readers sift through all the new books, *American Journalism* is expanding its review section. Each issue will now include reviews of fifteen or more books as well as review essays in which writers evaluate recent books in their own areas of expertise. My hope is that by increasing the size and scope of the review section, *American Journalism* will encourage readers to participate in a larger conversation about communication, a conversation that specialization always threatens to silence.

This issue also features articles by Barbara Straus Reed and Rodger Streitmatter based on papers that were chosen as among the best presented at the 1989 convention of the American Journalism Historians Association, held in Atlanta.

– J.P.

PEABODY COLLECTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

IF YOU WANT to develop a comprehensive history of American broadcasting or a cultural history of the United States during the past fifty years, you should include in your research plans the George Foster Peabody Collection at the University of Georgia in Athens.

In fact, the thousands of radio and television programs in the Peabody Collection can provide insightful information about government, wars, social movements, or almost anything else that has been depicted on broadcast stations and networks since 1940.

Since it was made more accessible to scholars, students, and others in the 1980s, the collection has been used for studies of the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights movement, and an American view of the Soviet Union, as well as for a fifty-year retrospective of American broadcasting, the role of local radio stations in World War II, the evolution of radio public service programming, and other topics.

The collection, which includes most of the entries in the Peabody Awards Program sponsored by the University of Georgia, is one of the largest broadcast archives in the country. It already includes more than twenty-five thousand programs, and it is adding from eight hundred to a thousand more each year.

Dr. Worth McDougald, director of the Peabody Awards program, says the collection has many assets besides its size. It has thousands of programs produced by local stations, it includes many types of local and network programs, and it represents what stations, networks, producers and others regarded as their best work in given years and categories.

Many collections concentrate on network programs or particular types of programs such as news or dramatic shows. The Peabody Collection has local programs from throughout the country as well as network programs, and it includes various categories, such as news, public service, education, entertainment, music, children's programs, and others.

Since entries represent what entrants regarded as their best work, the collection includes most of the critically acclaimed and influential programs of the past half century. They chronicle World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, the Cold War, the space race, the human rights movement, Watergate, the Iran-Contra affair, cultural change, and other developments from both local and national perspectives.

The collection was started in 1941 when the first Peabody Awards were given by the University of Georgia and the National Association of Broadcasters for programs broadcast in 1940. Winners were, and still are, selected by a board whose members are familiar with broadcasting but not directly associated with any station or network.

The late John E. Drewry, then dean of Georgia's School of Journalism, started the program at the suggestion of Lambdin Kay, manager of WSB radio station in Atlanta and a member of a NAB committee appointed to explore development of a radio equivalent of the Pulitzer Prizes for print media.

The School of Journalism (now College of Journalism and Mass Communication) has continued to administer the awards program, which is recognized by many as the most prestigious in the industry, and develop the collection. The NAB continued an indirect association for a few years, but withdrew out of concern that its involvement might be construed by some as a conflict of interest.

Kay suggested that the awards program be named in honor of George Foster Peabody, a native Geor-

gian who became a major benefactor of the University of Georgia after achieving success with a New York investment firm. Peabody had died in 1938.

Georgia officials decided soon after the awards program was started to keep all materials associated with the entries. As a result, the collection includes entry and nomination forms, scripts, photographs, press clippings, letters from viewers, and other such materials, as well as films, audio and video tapes, electrical transcriptions, and kinescopes.

The collection includes virtually all of the local radio and television programs entered from the beginning and most of the network programs, including all since 1969, when the Peabody board and the university adopted a firm no-return policy.

Some significant omissions do exist because the major networks at one time requested the return of their entries, especially those on kinescopes and early shows recorded on "re-usable" two-inch videotape. In addition, the board occasionally honored programs not formally entered.

The Peabody Collection does, however, have the supporting materials on recordings that were returned, and it is seeking to replace missing programs with the cooperation of the National Center for Film and Television Preservation and its consortium of archives.

Other recording omissions also exist as a result of technical problems. Some early programs were recorded on fragile materials that haven't survived the effects of time or have come apart during efforts to re-record them on modern tapes for use by researchers and others.

University officials are dealing with these problems as best they can as part of their continuing efforts to make the collection accessible to scholars, students, and others interested in broadcasting. In virtually all instances, the written materials, including descriptions of the programs, that accompanied the entries have survived.

For many years, the collection was stored in the journalism building and virtually inaccessible to any but staff members. But in the middle 1970s, after completion of a major addition to the university's main library, it was moved there and steps taken to catalog all materials and re-record the older programs that were becoming fragile.

This process is still in progress. The university obtained a grant of $150,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1979, and it committed some $232,000 in services and materials to get the project started. More funds are needed to complete the work, and those within the media industry have been reluctant to contribute for fear it would appear that they are seeking favors in the ongoing competition.

The collection is being used, however, by faculty, graduate students, and researchers from organizations such as the major television networks, the BBC, and *National Geographic* magazine. A CBS representative doing research for a program on television in the 1950s collected some fifty-five hours of Peabody materials to study and excerpt for the network's program.

In the past year or so, the collection has been used as a primary source of information for the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of television at the Smithsonian Instutution, the MGM-Disney Theme Park, and the New Museum in New York, and it has been utilized in background research by a number of production companies.

Dr. Barry Sherman, head of the telecommunications department at Georgia, used the collection for an extensive study of the Vietnam War and television for the 1987 American Film Institute Video Festival. Sherman looked at 110 programs on Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos entered in the competition between 1961 and 1985 and selected 25 for festival screening. About half are local programs that provide a viewpoint not available in other major collections.

Sherman and Patricia J. Priest, a doctoral student at Georgia, subsequently did a study of the civil rights movement as seen in programs in the Peabody

Collection. They found that 79 of 146 programs entered in the competition between 1949 and 1967 had been preserved. These included children's programs, dramas, and other non-news programs, as well as documentaries, news broadcasts, editorials, and public service announcements.

Dr. Al Moffett of Georgia State University, while a graduate student at Georgia in the mid-1980s, did a study of "Hometown Radio and World War II," and Michael Marcotte, another graduate student, did a study of "Trends in Radio Public Service, 1948–1982," using entries in the awards program.

These studies help illustrate the Peabody Collection's unique potential for providing the local viewpoint that is so important to understanding American history and American people. It has the network reports, as some other collections do. But it also provides the local angle so often missing in the network reports.

The possibilities for research in the collection are about as great as the researcher's sense of what to study. One could, for example, explore news bias, sensationalism, or agenda setting in the media, the impact of new technology, changing social roles, trends in programming, or any number of historical events and developments.

Dr. McDougald said research courtesies would be extended to any bona fide scholar. Commerical researchers may also ask permission to use the collection. Fees may be charged to cover the expenses of Peabody staff members working with them.

The nature of the collection dictates some restrictions on its use. The university does not lend copies of Peabody materials directly or through interlibrary loan. Original recordings cannot be played, but copies are available for many of them. As noted earlier, the process of cataloging and re-recording programs is not complete.

Persons who would like to use the collection should make arrangements in advance. Information about the collection and its use can be obtained by writing Dr. Worth McDougald, director, Peabody Awards Program, College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602, or by calling him at (404) 542-3787 or (404) 542-9273 (fax).

. . . Ernest C. Hynds
University of Georgia

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UNITY, NOT ABSORPTION: ROBERT LYON AND THE *ASMONEAN*

The Origins of the First English-Language Jewish Weekly in the United States

Barbara Straus Reed

EVERY MAJOR IMMIGRANT GROUP and many lesser ones established ethnic presses after arriving in the United States. These papers showed a more genuine interest in the welfare of their readers and established more personal, helpful ties with their communities than did the majority press. Overall, the ethnic press proved enormously valuable in smoothing the difficult transition to their adopted homeland. It aided this accommodation in a number of ways. Many immigrant journals offered readers needed information. Others championed social reforms that benefited the ethnic group as a whole. Additionally, papers strove to educate their readers in the ways of American life, thereby helping them acculturate or assimilate. There is little question that these journals helped to create a sense of the ethnic group's culture, identity, nationality, or religion in America.[1]

In large part, the practices of ethnic newspaper editors and publishers can be explained by understanding the social and economic position they occupied within their communities. As a result of their diversity—particularly in the early years—newspapers were often mere sounding boards for other enterprises, and journalists commonly subordinated editorial policies to the interests of these ventures. The major problems confronting immigrant editors were their constituencies, largely illiterate, distrustful of intellectuals, suspicious of strangers, and impov-

1. See for example, Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957); A. William Hoglund, *Finnish Immigrants in America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960); S. W. Kung, *Chinese Life in America: Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems and Contributions* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962; reissue, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973); Joseph Roucek, *The Czechs and Slovaks in America* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1967); Mordecai Soltes, *The Yiddish Press: An Americanizing Agency* (New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1950); and Edmund G. Olszyk, *The Polish American Press in America* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1940).

Barbara Reed is an assistant professor in the Department of Journalism and Mass Media at Rutgers University. She received her doctorate in mass communication from Ohio University, and she previously taught at California State University at Los Angeles. Her article is adapted from a chapter in her dissertation.

erished. Yet given these handicaps, many editors accomplished yeoman deeds in their American vineyard.[2]

More difficult to measure, but nonetheless present, was the element of comfort and security that the ethnic press provided to first-generation immigrants. During what must have been at best a difficult transition, newcomers often found solace in journals using familiar themes and stressing news of lands from which they had so recently departed. As such, these papers acted as cushions against the shocks and traumas occasioned by new adjustments, and, in many cases, were important mediating agencies between the immigrant culture and that of the host country. Furthermore, the press helped to articulate for uneducated new arrivals the grievances they felt acutely but found difficult to express; no other institution within the ethnic community was as capable of carrying out this function.[3] Each ethnic group is part of the American mosaic, and each reacted to the American experience differently.

• • • • •
"Well before substantial Jewish immigration began to flow, the highly favorable terms by which Jews, and others, could enter and accommodate themselves in American life were fixed."
– Lloyd P. Gartner
"Immigration and the Formation of American Jewry, 1840–1925."
•

This paper concerns the birth and development of the *Asmonean*, the first English-language Jewish weekly in America, and pieces together the available facts about its editor, Robert Lyon. The *Asmonean* remains an important example of the ethnic press because it came at a critical time in the history of Jewish immigration to the United States. For more than eight years Lyon's paper played an important role in helping the new arrivals integrate with the majority community as well as preserve their heritage. In other words, it assisted Jews in becoming part of the whole, yet distinguishable with their unique culture and traditions. Its success was due in part to the audience Lyon addressed. It helped its immigrant readers learn English. For those already fluent in English, the regular reporting of news in the Jewish community promoted not only identity but also cohesion. The advertisements made immigrants aware of available goods and services.

As a metaphor, the melting pot image of immigration proves unfortunate and misleading. One scholar has suggested that a more accurate analogy would be a salad bowl, "for though the salad is an entity, the lettuce can still be distinguished from the chicory, the tomatoes from the cabbage."[4] As a result of these resistant bits of foreign ways within the United States, American culture has been more colorful, more cosmopolitan, more diverse than any other people's; indeed, cultural diversity has been one of the hallmarks of American civilization.

An example of this "salad-bowl theory" of immigration can

2. Gary Mormino, "The Immigrant Editor," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 9 (1981): 81–85.
3. George E. Pozzetta, "The Italian Immigrant Press of New York City: The Early Years, 1880–1915," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1 (1973): 32–46.
4. Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1970), 296.

be seen in the Jews from western and central Europe, who came to America in the nineteenth century in what is known as the German Jewish immigration. Between 1840 and 1880, a quarter-million German Jews (and some Polish) settled in the United States.[5] Primarily they settled in the cities and towns, along with their gentile fellow immigrants from Germany, who became their customers in commercial enterprises. Not that immigrants arrived as prosperous merchants. Rather, they possessed little money, started as peddlers, carried merchandise to customers in the countryside, and after acquiring sufficient capital, purchased a horse and wagon to carry on their enterprise. Later, the successful ones began shops and became settled merchants, or "store princes" as they were popularly known.[6]

"The possibilities of Judaism and Jewish life in America under the regime of free option, state aloofness, and automatic emancipation were to be explored by every generation of Jews who came to America."
– Gartner, "Immigration and American Jewry."

The majority of these immigrants quickly accepted the aesthetic standards and cultural patterns of the American Protestant middle class, which seemed appropriate for the American scene, and modified their lives accordingly. Immigrant Jews delighted in the American climate of equality and sought to be as much like their neighbors as possible, to shed marks of their foreign origin. Yet they were Jews; complete absorption was impossible. They sought "to exist and yet not to exist, to be needed and yet to be unimportant, to be different and yet to be the same, to be integrated and yet to be separate."[7]

Pioneer ethnic publications, of whatever group, tend to be founded as a response to the activities of others.[8] The theme of defense is a strong one; for Jews, that defense was against

5. Bernard D. Weinryb, "East European Immigration to the United States," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 45 (April 1955): 497–528.
6. Isaac M. Wise, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati: Leo Wise , 1901) 109; see also, Israel Knox, *Rabbi in America: The Story of Isaac M. Wise*, ed. Oscar Handlin (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957). A few of these princes founded retail dynasties: the Strauses of Macy's, the Gimbels, Bloomingdales, Bergdorfs and so on; most, however, remained of moderate means.
7. Joshua A. Fishman, et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuations of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (Salem, N.H.: Ayer Publishing, 1978), 73.
8. See Sam G. Riley, "A Note of Caution—The Indian's Own Prejudice, as Mirrored in the First Native American Newspaper," *Journalism History* 6 (Summer 1979): 44–47; Sharon Murphy, "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype," *Journalism History* 6 (Summer 1979): 39–43; Richard LaCourse, "An Indian Perspective—Native American Journalism: An Overview," *Journalism History* 6 (Summer 1979): 34–38; Hank LaBrie III, "Black Newspapers: The Roots Are 150 Years Deep," *Journalism History* 4 (Winter 1977–78): 110–13; Juan Gonzales, Forgotten Pages: Spanish-Language Newspapers in the Southwest," *Journalism History* 4 (Summer 1977): 50–51; Kenneth D. Nordin, "In Search of Black Unity: An Interpretation of the Content and Function of *Freedom's Journal*," *Journalism History* 4 (Winter 1977–78): 123–28; Sharon Murphy, "Neglected Pioneers: 19th Century Native American Newspapers," *Journalism History* 4 (Autumn 1977): 79–82; Lionel Barrow, "Our Own Cause: *Freedom's Journal* and the Beginnings of the Black Press," *Journalism History* 4 (Winter 1977–78): 118–122; Felix Gutierrez, "Spanish-Language Media in America: Background, Resources, History," *Journalism History* 4 (Summer 1977): 34–41.

"Historians generally accept that perhaps 2,000 Jews lived in the Thirteen Colonies at the time of the American Revolution, and fifty years later, about 1825, the number was still no higher than about 6,000."
– Gartner, "Immigration and American Jewry."

evangelical movements to convert them to Christianity.[9] Such movements targeted the Jews from the early part of the mid-nineteenth century, when they numbered in the hundreds. During the years 1843 to 1849, the Jewish community increased substantially as whole families, rather than isolated individuals, began to arrive in America. It was the time when the contemporary American Jewish scene emerged and found its shape and direction. Issues other than conversion vied for consideration. For American Jews, experimenting with new life patterns engaged their full attention. In 1849 approximately fifty thousand Jews lived in the United States. Roughly thirteen to fourteen thousand lived in New York, the leading Jewish community in the country, then as now. Thirteen new congregations had been organized there since the Revolution.[10] New York City consistently possessed the greatest number of periodicals printed in America, and also supplied much of the talent and news for the ethnic press throughout the nation.

The new immigrants, mostly from central Europe, began to find a niche for themselves economically but found the Jewish community undistinguished and divided. Many leaders were untrained and pursued their duties as religious lay readers as merely another way to make a living. Isaac Leeser, the pioneer, with his magazine, the *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, attempted to reach members of the far-flung Jewish communities throughout the country. Yet his magazine appeared only monthly and went to a limited number of subscribers; the Jewish community needed more information and inspiration—and a more frequent exchange of ideas. Also, Leeser lived in Philadelphia, a large Jewish center but one that stood in the shadow of New York's fourteen thousand, who needed their own organ.

Two Jewish publications, weeklies, were established in 1849 to answer the needs of Jewish New Yorkers. *Israels Herold* [sic], the first, began publication in German on 30 March, with Isidor Bush as editor; it lasted but three months.[11] Because Bush's weekly was highly philosophical in tone, it failed to reach a large number of people. American Jews at that time possessed neither a broad general education nor even a proper Jewish one. Its demise resulted from the audience's indifference, even though

9. Naomi W. Cohen, "Pioneers of American Jewish Defense," *American Jewish Archives* 29 (November 1977): 123–60. One important study has dealt with the issue of reform versus orthodoxy in American Judaism as reflected in three publications. Kathryn T. Theus, "From Orthodoxy to Reform: Assimilation and the Jewish-English Press of Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *American Journalism* 1 (Winter 1984): 15–26.

10. Ira Rosenwaike, "An Estimate and Analysis of the Jewish Population of the United States," *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society* 50 (September 1960): 23–67.

11. The American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati has a card catalogue of the contents of Bush's paper. An excellent description of the publication is by Guido Kisch in "*Israels Herold*: The First Jewish Weekly in New York," *Historia Judaica* 2 (October 1940): 65–84.

he obtained work from the most important thinkers in Europe, and his American contributors included the leading lights of American Jewish life. With the twelfth issue, he gave up.

The second Jewish weekly, the first in English, was the *Asmonean*, begun in 1849.[12] It was edited by Robert Lyon, born 15 January 1810, the second son of Wolfe Lyon, a London tradesman.[13] He received an education for commerce and business, although he maintained an interest in science. Before age eighteen he had written essays that were published in local periodicals on the island of Jersey. Some years later, he moved to London, started a business, married Dinah Mawson of London, and became a member of the Maiden Lane Synagogue.[14] He served as treasurer of the congregation. In 1840 he and another Jew, Baron de Goldsmid, presented a congratulatory address to Queen Victoria on her marriage. In 1844 the Lyons emigrated to New York. They had seven children; one daughter died in 1852.[15]

• • • • •
"When the first rudimentary survey of American Jewry was undertaken in 1877 . . . the total [number of Jews] was put at 280,000."
– Gartner, "Immigration and American Jewry."
•

Lyon established an umbrella factory but could not make a steady living in that field. At the same time, he thought he could help the "Jewish cause" by publishing a weekly. Lyon's essays had appeared in publications in England.[16] He knew English well but lacked any kind of background in Hebrew and German, the two languages of the Jewish community of the time. Shortly after Lyon's arrival in America, Leeser ran two of Lyon's essays and an article about uniting American Jewry.[17]

While Lyon had no experience publishing a paper, he believed his friendships in the Hebrew Benevolent Association and membership in leading synagogues would help him secure many contributors to his enterprise. (One could belong to more than one synagogue.) Financial support would depend on circulation and advertising, although Lyon acknowledged that his

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12. Hyman Grinstein, "The *Asmonean*: The First Jewish Weekly in New York," *Journal of Jewish Bibliography* 1 (April 1939): 62–71.
13. He lost a brother, a property owner, in a 22 June 1851 San Francisco fire known as "the Sixth Great Fire." Fragments of Lyon's life are described in "Death of Mr. Robert Lyon," *Asmonean*, 12 March 1858, 172.
14. According to their advertisements in the paper, Dinah Mawson's brothers were in New York as early as 1839, when their fur manufacturing business began, but they turn up first in the 1840–41 *New York City Directory*. A brother, Edward, married Ellen Phillips of St. Hellers Jersey, at his father's home in London, according to "Married," *Asmonean*, 14 March 1851, 166. She may have moved to England with the children after Lyon's death, as nothing more of her life can be learned.
15. "Death," *Asmonean*, 24 September 1852, 222. The extremely meticulous genealogist, Rabbi Malcolm Stern, in his book, *First American Jewish Families*, noted only two male children, Gerald and Edmund Robert. However, Lyon addressed his final words to the oldest son, William, then age fifteen, according to "Death of Mr. Robert Lyon," *Asmonean*, 12 March 1858, 172.
16. "Death of Mr. Robert Lyon," *Asmonean*, 12 March 1858, 172.
17. "Lecturing and Lecturers, No. 1," *Occident* 4 (May 1846): 90–96; "Lecturing and Lecturers," *Occident* 4 (September 1846): 293–97; and "The Convention, Its Design, Its Utility," *Occident* 7 (September 1849): 320–23.

paper had a patron.[18] His paper was originally intended for the Jewish population of New York City but later circulated throughout the country.[19]

Lyon was active civically and politically. The *New York City Directory* of 1840–41 lists Lyon's occupation as assistant city inspector with an office at city hall. The following year, a John Hillyer is listed as street inspector, and conceivably they met there. The two teamed up in March 1852 to start the *New York Mercantile Journal*, a weekly focusing on business.[20] In the Jewish community, Lyon was a vice-president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. He had connections to political figures locally and nationally. Henry Clay, General Lewis Cass, and Daniel Webster all knew him.

Robert Lyon, never a hardy man, suffered a stroke at work on 10 March 1858, and died three hours after reaching his home. His funeral, the largest since that of editor and diplomat Mordecai Manual Noah, included six rabbis, four synagogue presidents, the Associate United States District Attorney, officers of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, leading merchants of the Jewish community, and the "most respectable Christian fellow citizens."[21] Burial took place at the Beth Olom Cemetery in Cypress Hills, at which Rabbi Samuel Myer Isaacs, later the editor of his own weekly in New York, presided. After his death, his widow may have returned to England, where her father lived, for no listing appears in the New York City directories under her name or as his widow.

The first issue of the *Asmonean* appeared on 19 October 1849.[22]

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18. "Cliquism and Its Advocates," *Asmonean*, 26 December 1851, 92: "[The patron] is far too liberal to entrench upon our rights; he knows his position; and though grateful for the aid rendered, we here publicly acknowledge it; for his councel [sic] has been readily given when sought by us, but wise and intelligent, he never intrudes an opinion unasked."

19. "To Our Subscribers," *Asmonean*, 26 October 1849, 1.

20. Lyon announced that he and John Hillyer would publish a newspaper every Tuesday and Friday afternoon, from 140 Nassau Street, New York. Its cost was five dollars per year in advance. Called the *New York Mercantile Journal and Financial Recorder*, it would be devoted to the financial insurance and commercial interests of America. It would have thirty-two columns, eight pages, of quarto size, bound, and could be used as a standard reference work. It would be a review of the news of the day, with reports of decisions on mercantile questions contested in the United States courts. "It will eschew politics of every shade and hue." Also printed in French, the idea was to make the publication "an available medium for merchants in the city to communicate by the steamer of the following day with their correspondents in Europe." See advertisements in the *Asmonean*, 2 March 1852, 201, and 26 March 1852, 225. The *Mercantile Journal* later added *and Railroad Gazette* to its title. The only holdings are from 19 July to 16 August 1853, and from 5 May to 1 June 1858, in the New York Historical Society.

21. "Funeral of Robert Lyon, Esq.," *Asmonean*, 19 March 1858, 180.

22. "Death of Mr. Robert Lyon," *Asmonean*, 12 March 1858, 172. Grinstein dated it to 19 October, but the 26 October, as well as all others, was for the week ending on that date. The pagination of the *Asmonean* is irregular, and two systems prevail. First, page numbers begin with the first month of each year; then from

Thereafter it appeared every Friday, from its owner's address.[23] The masthead, large and elaborate, consisted of Jewish symbols: In the center was an escutcheon, displaying figures representing the tribes of Israel—a wolf of Benjamin, a bull of Manasseh, and a lion of Judah. The *Asmonean* took its name from the surname of Mattathias and his sons, who led the successful revolt of the Jews against the Greeks in the second century B.C.[24] Subtitled "A family journal of commerce, politics, religion, and literature, devoted to the interests of the American Israelites," it ran a column of "Patronage and Support" listing the names of ministers, presiding officers of nine New York congregations, and prominent Jews from several cities. The peculiar motto, "Two are better than one, and a three-fold cord is not quickly broken," referred to uniting American Jewry and was taken from Ecclesiastes, chapter 4, verses 9 and 12. In the third volume it was simplified with the removal of the symbols and the addition of a simple slogan, "Knowledge is power."[25] The design on the first issues was copied from the *Irish-American*, which appeared only a number of months before the *Asmonean* was launched.[26]

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"Two *are* better than one; because they have a good reward for their labor. . . . And if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken."
– Eccles., 4:9, 12.
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When the *Asmonean* began, only the *Occident* served as competition. But competition it was, a fact not lost on the Philadelphia editor, Isaac Leeser, who welcomed the paper but warned the new editor:

> We hope that the enterprise will meet with due encouragement; at the same time, we do not hesitate in saying that it is more likely to result in a heavy pecuniary loss to the proprietors. Our own experience in publishing for our people is something like a long series of disappointments; and had it not been that we needed not the smallest portion of the proceeds for our personal support, we should have long since have relinquished the editorial chair. We are always sorry to see an inexperienced person expose himself to the disappointments which are sure to await him; we know what it is to battle with a public who do not care to hear from one, no matter what he has to say, and we therefore had hoped that for the present no more candidates for disappointment would have presented themselves. We dissuaded Mr. Bush from commencing "Israel's Herald" [sic]; he nevertheless went on, printed twelve numbers, and then

16 May 1850 through 25 July 1852, each issue additionally sports a "Whole No."
23. Robert Lyon began at 140 Nassau Street, then moved to 83 Gold Street as of 9 April 1852, then to 7 Cedar Street, then to 112 Pearl Street.
24. "The Asmonean," *Asmonean*, 1 November 1849, 13. "The last reigning princes amongst the Children of Israel were Asmoneans."
25. *Asmonean*, 1 November 1849, 13, and "Unity is Strength," *Asmonean*, 24 August 1852, 173. Lyon changed the motto and explained the withdrawal of the first motto in the editorial.
26. Grinstein, "*The Asmonean*," 63.

> stopped, having found that we had advised him correctly. We wish Mr. Lyons [sic] a better success, though we fear the contrary.[27]

Despite the gloomy warning, the *Asmonean* endured to become Leeser's competition and survived for almost a decade, until Lyon's death.

In the first issue of the *Asmonean*, Lyon noted his intention to promote a congregational Union of Israelites of the United States. He also wanted to disseminate information about or relating to the Jewish people. All foreign and domestic news would receive ample coverage, "up to the latest moment prior to going to press." Lyon also promised to comment on events "temperately." But the most important reason to publish was for "a Unity of action between the learned and the philanthropic of Israel." He sought to diffuse "amongst our brethren a better knowledge of principles of the Jewish faith." Further, the editor wrote, "The paper comes into existence perfectly unfettered and unpledged . . . for it is the duty of all Israelites to further every understanding having a tendency to dissipate existing prejudices, and induce a better understanding of the true interests of Israel as a religious brotherhood." He acknowledged his lack of experience as a journalist, but said, "We are not deficient of zeal in our desire of preserving our national integrity, and averting the curse of infidelity from our people." He made arrangements for correspondents and sought to find them in each section of the country, although he never could pay them for their contributions.

"The most radical innovations in Judaism occured after the first Jews arrived in the United States from Germany."
– Kathryn T. Theus, "From Orthodoxy to Reform: Assimilation and the Jewish-English Press of Mid-Nineteenth Century America."

Politics occupied a significant place in the *Asmonean*, undoubtedly as a result of Lyon's long-standing interest in it. In the fifties, the paper had opposed Know-Nothingism, and in 1856 it supported James Buchanan for the presidency and Fernando Wood for mayor of New York.[28] When a reader wrote about Lyon's rather outspoken preference for various political offices, Lyon responded that his paper was a commercial, religious, and literary as well as a political organ. He maintained that part of his duty was to inform the Jewish public of his stand in political matters.[29] It may very well be that periodic advertisements from Tammany Hall and the City of New York had much to do with the *Asmonean*'s forthright political statements and bias towards the Democrats.[30] Lyon believed Jews could only be Democrats: "Israelites are Democrats of old; and if they read their history at-

27. *Occident* 7 (October 1849): 379.
28. Editorial endorsements of Buchanan, Breckenridge (for vice-president), and Wood (for mayor and then governor) ran in every issue from "National Democratic Nominations," *Asmonean*, 25 July 1856, 116, to "The Contest for the Presidency," *Asmonean*, 31 October 1856, 20, in which a column was devoted to a state-by-state tally of electoral votes.
29. "Politics, or, No-Politics," *Asmonean*, 15 August 1856, 140.
30. In "Charter Election, Dec. 1," *Asmonean*, 13 November 1857, 5, he endorsed individuals for city and county elections. He not only endorsed Wood for mayor,

tentatively they never will be anything but Democrats."[31] The paper supported Fernando Wood for vice-president of the United States when the Democratic convention was in Cincinnati. The New York mayor would unite the conflicting votes of the party, Lyon noted.[32] Coincidentally, corporate notices from the city of New York ran in the *Asmonean*, as did city ordinances.[33]

Lyon took an active role in politics and reported on elections by wards and districts within the city, too, unlike other editors of Jewish publications. He openly supported Emanuel B. Hart, who was returned to Congress in 1850, and voting results were given to show how Hart beat two candidates by receiving thirty-four hundred of the thirty-six hundred votes cast.[34] A brief biography of Hart was printed. Lyon noted in an editorial that Hart had been a good representative; his being Jewish had nothing whatever to do with the editor's support.

Local and state acts were given in their entirety in six- or eight-point type and without leading. A story of a rally for Charter Amendments for City Reform received play, and the amendments were printed, again in small type. For all the wards in the city, Lyon listed locations where voting would take place, whether it be at a candy, crockery, hardware, shoe, or cigar store.[35] He facilitated the workings of a democratic government in the same way that a regular city paper did.

But Lyon's interest in politics did not stop at the state level. He knew and corresponded with Daniel Webster. When Webster died, Lyon turned the column rules throughout the paper as a symbol of mourning for him.[36] He also ran a story from the *Boston Courier* on the last hours of Mr. Webster. In addition, he composed an obituary but did not mention anything pertaining to Mr. Webster's relationship with the Jewish community. Lyon referred to the deceased as "lofty spirit" and "noble-hearted secretary." To cap off the issue he produced a chronology of Webster's life.

Jewish communal and foreign news, or "intelligence" as it was called, was probably the main drawing card of the *Asmonean*. Lyon covered the news of the participation of Jews as

"Even Jewish rabbis who supported democratic rights and religious liberty could not agree on the extent to which the traditional aspects of Jewishness, as a 'people set apart,' could be realized. It was out of that controversy that the Jewish press in the United States was born."
– Theus, "From Orthodoxy to Reform."

but also for governor of the Alms House and endorsed six supervisors including one William M. Tweed.

31. "Politics or No-Politics," *Asmonean*, 15 August 1856, 140.
32. "Fernando Wood for Vice President," *Asmonean*, 23 May 1856, 45.
33. "Corporation Notices," *Asmonean*, 6 June 1856, 59. They listed all ordinances, including those pertaining to express wagons, carts, dirt cart men, drays, public porters, hackney coach owners, and proprietors of livery stables, as well as the "complete book" in the mayor's office for "municipal abuses of all kinds."
34. "Emanual B. Hart Returned for Congress," *Asmonean*, 8 November 1850, 21. Lyon reported on how New York City residents voted for Congress, singling out the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Districts. In the Third District there were five wards, and Hart won handily in each but the Third Ward.
35. "Rally for the Charter Amendments and Secure Substantial City Reform; Places At Which Tickets Can Be Procured," *Asmonean*, 3 June 1853, 53.
36. "Brief Memoir of Mr. Webster," *Asmonean*, 29 October 1852, 18.

chaplains in legislative bodies. For example, when Rabbi Julius Eckman opened by prayer a legislative body in Virginia in 1850, and when Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise served as chaplain of both houses of the state legislature of New York, Lyon duly reported—and with pride.[37] Additionally, some news of a general nature, an occasional fictional story, book reviews, letters to the editor, editorials, and translations and excerpts from other journals filled the reading columns.

At times the *Asmonean* stooped to the sensational. For example, Lyon was not above using sensational stories about violent deaths. He reprinted a story from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* that graphically described the atrocious desecration of human remains. Students from a "Homeopathic College" nearby were thought to bear responsibility for the acts.[38] In another story, which Leeser never noted in his obituaries in the *Occident*, one Jacob Lehman of Philadelphia was killed, his body mutilated, and dismembered. Again, the gory details made for lively reading.[39]

Advertising grew immensely in the first two years. By the end of the second full year, the *Asmonean* was carrying six full pages of advertising, three at the beginning and three at the end of each twelve-page issue.[40] A discount of 20 percent was allowed to secretaries of congregations, societies, agents, postmasters, and others obtaining subscribers and remitting subscriptions. Unlike other publications of this era, however, Lyon accepted non-Jewish advertising.[41] The *Asmonean* ran ads for roach traps, Lyons (not related) Essence of Jamaica Ginger for dyspepsia, gout, rheumatism, cramp, cholera, and cholic, and Lyon's (not related) Kathairion for growth and embellishment of hair.[42] Other products included Dr. T. Finchei's Vegetable Eureka Plaster, Dr. Rogers' Compound Syrup of Loverwort, Tar, and Chanchalagua, Dr. Drake's Chinese Hair Cream, Amidon Fashionable Hatter, Dr. Houghton's Pepsin, and Marsh's Universal Joint and Self-Adjusting Truss.[43] Among his first and most steady advertisers was Mawson and Bros. Furs of New York and Philadelphia—and later San Francisco—relatives of Mrs. Lyon. Another advertiser was J.M. Jackson, a New York printer of Hebrew and English materials.[44]

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"The advertisements of the priest, the doctor, and the lawyer appear as soon as the immigrant community attains any size."
– Robert Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control.*
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37. "Theological and Philosophical," *Asmonean*, 8 October 1852, 246–47; and "Prayer I," *Asmonean*, 30 January 1852, 133. (Dr. Morris J. Raphall was the first Jew to deliver a prayer in Congress.)
38. "Atrocious Desecration of Human Remains," *Asmonean*, 27 February 1852, 185.
39. " Shocking Murder near Philadelphia," *Asmonean*, 16 February 1852, 149.
40. See, for example, *Asmonean*, 17 October 1851.
41. The rates were as follows: business cards, six dollars per year, or with a subsciption eight dollars; fifty cents for first insertion up to eight lines, with eight cents per line thereafter, or for one month or longer, six cents per line.
42. *Asmonean*, 12 March 1852, 208.
43. *Asmonean*, 21 November 1851, 55.
44. *Asmonean*, 16 November 1849, 24.

Lyon seemed to give advertisers their money's worth in his paper. Articles praising the advertised products pervaded all parts of the editorial content. He even ran articles in praise of the sponsors, followed by advertisements of the "famed" products on subsequent pages, a typical general practice of the time.

The *Asmonean* carried numerous items of special note to synagogues and societies of New York and elsewhere; however, most seemed limited to influential organizations, especially those advertising on occasion for a lay reader or a Hebrew teacher. Lyon paid particular attention to groups that paid for notices of their meetings. Because such payments afforded another source of profit, the *Asmonean* adopted this as policy for a time.[45] Unfortunately, Lyon could not continue the policy, and unpaid notices found their way into the paper again.

"The Germans probably have more societies than other immigrant groups except the Jews."
– Park, *The Immigrant Press.*

Actually, getting communal news into the editorial columns sometimes proved problematic. It seemed as if Lyon were always trying to build up the financial side of the paper. In 1850 Lyon announced that notices or reports could appear only if they either appealed to Jews as a whole or were paid for, but he relented not long after that and changed his policy, probably because of a lack of material, and printed anything he received. Not long after that, however, he reverted to the original policy and allowed only paid notices.[46] The end result of this shifting of policy was a period of incomplete reporting in the paper of Jewish communal activity in New York.

The *Asmonean* sold for three dollars per year "invariably in advance"; it never raised its price.[47] Circulation always seemed to trouble Lyon. He tried to appeal to a large audience with many interests. Regularly the *Asmonean* ran a blurb that it represented two hundred thousand Jews in America and included among its subscribers "a large and increasing body of Unitarians, besides a great number of the German Citizens of the United States."[48] Lyon claimed many subscribers in New York as well as out of town.[49] While circulation was difficult to determine, the fact that he managed to fill half his paper with advertisements must have meant a large number of readers, or at least a subscription list substantial enough to convince his advertisers. The paper probably received more income from advertising than circulation.

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45. *Asmonean*, 2 May 1856, 20; and *Asmonean*, 9 May 1856, 28.
46. *Asmonean*, 12 July 1850, 92; "To Correspondents," *Asmonean*, 14 February 1851, 129; and "Notice to Subscribers," *Asmonean*, 3 October 1851, 213.
47. *Asmonean*, 24 October 1851, 1. Also, Leeser noted in his magazine that the price of the *Asmonean* would be three dollars. See "The Asmonean," *Occident* 7 (October 1849): 379.
48. *Asmonean*, 25 April 1851, 7. In another issue titled "To Advertisers," he noted that Germans, Christians, and many of the two hundred thousand Jews in America were in the audience. *Asmonean*, 3 March 1852, 21.
49. Lyon noted that the new postage law allowed his *Asmonean* to go to any part of the Union, "California and Oregon included," for one cent or six and one-fourth cents per quarter, or twenty-five cents per year if paid in advance.

The paper appeared to be financially sound through most of its existence. However, no business records of the paper are extant; thus, one can only surmise its prosperity. The important thing to remember about Lyon is that he succeeded economically, but he also had a twice-weekly newspaper dealing with finance and commerce. The advertisers in that publication probably gave him some goodwill business for his Jewish newspaper, too. To that end, for example, the last issue, of eight pages, carried five full pages of advertising, minus one-third of a column for editorial material relating to the ads. Most issues filled the first three pages with advertisements, for Jewish boardings, seminaries, Hebrew books, insurance (fire, marine, life), banks, patent medicines, clothing, liquors, looking glasses, shipping, express companies, railroads, storage, musical instruments, guns and ammunition, legal counsellors, and brokers.

Lyon continually rebuked those who subscribed to his paper on credit or who never got around to paying him. Apparently he willingly sent the paper to those who had not sent in subscription money in order to keep their names on the precious lists for advertisers.[50] Some never paid for even the first year's subscription, yet he sent them the paper for years. People also received the paper for a couple of years and then stopped taking it, without settling with Lyon. "We do not complain, such treatment is always the fortune of papers issued on credit, and yet our terms are cash."[51] He thought of publishing the names of delinquents as the *New York Tribune* published daily receipts. He threatened to strike from the subscription list all who were in arrears for more than the current year, and in the future not to send the paper to anyone who did not comply with his regulations—"Payment in advance."[52] In answer to letters of praise and encouragement, he wrote that obtaining five, ten, or twenty subscribers would do more than a "whole volume of praise," and he asked readers to circulate the work. He also offered a bargain: for every five subscriptions remitted, he would send six copies, the last presumably to the solicitor.

From the outset Lyon recognized that the majority of the Hebrew population in America was German-speaking, and, therefore, a portion of the paper had to be in that language.[53] He felt impaired because he could not effectively reach a great mass of the German-speaking population. He thought he needed a German supplement, in order to attract the large and ever-increasing number of German-speaking Jews in the city and

50. "Cliquism and its Advocates," *Asmonean*, 26 December 1851, 92.
51. "Editing a Paper," *Asmonean*, 10 September 1852, 197.
52. "To Our Subscribers," *Asmonean*, 24 December 1852, 112. He threatened to stop sending papers to those two years in arrears, and later announced no more credit for subscribers; he would supply the paper only when it was paid for. See *Asmonean*, 10 September 1852, 197.
53. "The Asmonean in German," *Asmonean*, 30 May 1851, 44.

around the country. He knew little German, however, and found it necessary to hire an assistant for the task. Finally, in 1851, after repeated pledges, he issued one supplement and promptly scuttled it.[54] But advertisements printed in German continued to appear frequently.[55] In 1856, he printed sections in German in a few issues, titled *Der Asmonean*. This creation seemed improperly timed, for most German-speaking Jews interested in the subject matter were reading either *Die Deborah* from Cincinnati by Rabbi Isaac Wise or the *Sinai* from Baltimore by Rabbi David Einhorn. Advertisements in German ran frequently in the *Asmonean*, but these came mainly from business firms, such as American Express, which probably could not estimate Lyon's German-speaking readers.[56] Lyon also added a German department, and at times ran the editorial page in German, heading it "Der Asmonean" in medieval typescript.[57]

"In 1855 a vitriolic exchange was taking place in the Jewish-English press. Orthodox editors blamed tendencies toward assimilation on the changes in Judaism, and reform editors blamed Christian missionaries."

– Theus, "From Orthodoxy to Reform."

In order to create a more objective, systematic, quantitative, and generalizable description of the kinds of articles and editorials the *Asmonean* carried, I conducted a content analysis of a sample issues. I chose the first and last volumes of the *Asmonean*, then randomly selected five other volumes to sample. I then attached random numbers from a table to every issue in those volumes. The final sample included 3,987 items.

I used the same six coding categories developed by Marion T. Marzolf in her pioneering work on the Danish-language press, but created three additional categories appropriate to this study.[58] The unit of analysis was the entire article or item. I defined each unit of analysis in writing, then trained two coders in using the instrument and the category system. I told them to code content as it appeared, rather than as the editor may have intended it. Nevertheless, coders frequently could not agree, so I elaborated the original definitions in order to improve reliability ratios.[59] Coders classified each article into one of the following nine polynary categories:

1. Surveillance of the environment: collecting useful information

54. "Our Paper," *Asmonean*, 27 June 1851, 76ff.

55. See, for example, *Asmonean*, 23 January 1852, 126.

56. See, for example, *Asmonean*, 16 January 1852, 117. The German advertisements stretched to fill one page plus one column. He carried English translations of the German immediately below each article, including one story ending with a list of persons' names typeset in the German and English alphabets.

57. *Asmonean*, 30 May 1856, 50.

58. Marion Tuttle Marzolf, *The Danish-Language Press in America* (New York: Arno, 1977).

59. The intercoder agreement was 91 percent. The formula used to calculate intercoder reliability was Holsti's: CR = 2M/(N1+N2), where M equals the number of coding decisions in which there is agreement, and N1 and N2 represent the total number of coding decisions by coder 1 and coder 2, respectively. Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969). See also, Guido H. Stempel III, "Content Analysis," in *Research Methods in Mass Communication*, ed. Guido H. Stempel III and Bruce H. Westley (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1981), 19–31.

for the immigrant in the new society. Hard news.
2. Correlation of the parts of the society: mediating between the two cultures by interpreting the immigrant's role to him. Serving as a forum. Publishers needed to have a way of editorializing, sometimes by letters airing their views.
3. Transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next: passing on the older culture or the American ethnic group identity. Heritage-culture. A lesson.
4. Entertainment: amusing without regard to particular effect.
5. Accomodation experience of the ethnic group: analyzing cultural and religious factors that aid or hinder assimilation and evaluating the group's standing over time. Help immigrant accommodate to American life.
6. American press history: identifying trends for the period of study, history in relation to the Jewish press. Comparisons to other ethnic press developments. Includes circulation notices, prospectuses, other information about publications.
7. Community building: reporting on other communities in a way that creates a feeling of a larger community, that enhances the feeling of "we're not just a little isolated group." A way of pointing with pride and bolstering up.
8. Non-local hard news of the Jewish community.
9. Other (includes non-Jewish material).

As Table 1 shows, there is a marked change of in the types of items Lyon ran in the *Asmonean*. In particular, a steady progression can be discerned from emphasis on Jewish instruction and transmission of the culture to offering news of a non-Jewish nature. Lyon emphasized transmission initially. He also covered the news in volumes 1 and 2 (1849–50) more comprehensively than at any other period. He apparently had a backlog of hard news items. However, he quickly learned how to use a scissors, for by the second volume he had dramatically increased non-Jewish items from other sources. He covered the theatrical scene and literary life of New York, taking material from foreign publications such as the *Edinburgh Review*, *Les Matinees du Samdei*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and *Mainzer Zeitung*. Material from domestic publications such as the *New York Presbyterian* and *Godey's Lady's Book* appeared frequently, too.

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"Fully one-third of the articles [in a sample of the *Asmonean*] called for religious liberty, cultural inclusiveness, and political participation by Jews, both at home and abroad."
– Theus, "From Orthodoxy to Reform."
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Also almost doubling was non-local news from the Jewish community, although transmission still had many items. By volume 9 there was a virtually equal number of non-local news items from the Jewish community and non-Jewish items. The shift from the first volume's combination of transmission, surveillance, and correlation to non-local community news and non-Jewish items was complete. The accommodation category swelled in volume 9, possibly because of the impact of a controversial book on that topic that was discussed in Lyon's paper. Volume 10 saw even more non-Jewish items and non-local news from the Jewish community, more than five hundred. By volume

Table 1
Content of Articles in the *Asmonean*

	Volumes Sampled						
Type of Content	1	2	9	10	14	15	17
Surveillance	104	46	26	11	13	8	11
Correlation	91	18	13	9	9	10	37
Transmission	191	112	46	92	29	45	51
Entertainment	9	4	0	1	1	0	0
Accommodation	55	44	62	44	24	8	13
Press Notes	46	48	13	16	24	24	35
Local Community	84	58	70	21	54	48	43
Non-local Comm.	76	137	197	264	101	86	81
Non-Jewish Items	33	152	198	241	157	148	215
Totals:	689	619	625	699	412	377	486

14, non-Jewish items exceeded non-local news from the Jewish community, with local community items coming in third, but with fewer than half the items. By volume 15, non-Jewish items dominated, followed by non-local news from the Jewish community, which has less than half the number of items. News of the local community and transmission are nearly the same. Finally, in volume 17, the total dominance of non-Jewish items can be seen. Such items appear almost three times as often as non-local news from the Jewish community, the second largest category.

As time went on, Lyon may have felt more comfortable in America and may have wanted to share material of interest to a very wide audience. His readers were more comfortable as well, although Lyon sought a non-Jewish audience. Surely, if the Unitarians and Germans were reading his publication, such material would appeal to them more than the strictly Jewish material. Perhaps, too, such material served as part of an economic strategy, in his attempt to attract more advertisers.

Coders also examined a nonrandom sample of the *Asmonean*'s editorials, to see whether they showed the same patterns of coverage as the news. They examined eight lead editorials in each year that the *Asmonean* was published. As Table 2 suggests, the editorials do not show any particular trend over time. In the sample there is only one editorial on non-Jewish subjects, appearing in 1851, despite the increasing number of news items in that category. Lyon apparently viewed his editorial mission as very Jewish, though his editorials did cover topics that would have interested non-Jewish readers, too, such as divorce, unity, religious education, cemeteries, and abolition of the death penalty. Non-local news from the Jewish community followed at 20 percent, and offered information about Jews in other places: China, England, Switzerland, Palestine, and Afghanistan.

Table 2
Content of Selected Editorials in the *Asmonean*

	Years, 1849–58									
Type of Content	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58
Surveillance					1					
Correlation	2	3	1	3	2		2	3	6	2
Transmission		1	1			3	2		1	3
Entertainment										
Accommodation	4	3	2	1		1	1	2		
Press Notes	1	1	1		1			1	1	
Local Community	1		1	1	1		2	1		
Non-Local Comm.			1	3	3	4	1	1		3
Non-Jewish Items			1							

During the first four years of the *Asmonean*, correlation stories, relating the parts of society and interpreting the experience for the immigrant, accounted for 28 percent of the editorials. In Lyon's paper, this often meant comment on a political or newsworthy event. Other times, Lyon would comment on the doings of local societies and organizations. An even larger category, at 31 percent, was accommodation.

During the second four years in print, the *Asmonean* pretty much maintained the pattern it had established during the first four years under study. Editorials commented on the success of Jews' Hospital, the promptness of the New York Fire Department in responding to a local fire, the Ladies Fair at B'nai Jeshurun to aid the poor, and the devoted local Jewish citizen whose hard work benefited the community. Correlation accounted for 22 percent of all editorial topics; non-local community news and transmission for 44 percent. The transmission or teaching function, in part, fulfilled Lyon's promise for his paper.

"For some German Jews, the German milieu in America was so fully satisfying that they more or less abandoned their ancestral Judaism."
– Gartner, "Immigration and American Jewry."

Lyon, ever the Englishman, wrote repeatedly on the Jew Bill in England, which was rejected time and again in Parliament but which came up for passage regularly. Every term the House of Commons passed it, but the House of Lords saw to its defeat. This bill would have abolished from the oath the words "on the faith of a Christian."[60] Jews found this an unacceptable mixing of church and state. Thus, one can see Lyon's ability to write editorials with news pegs. Moreover, he even editorialized on the president of the United States.[61]

Lyon from the beginning wanted to use his publication as a vehicle for establishing unity, at first among New York's diverse Jewish population and, later, nationally. He called for a census

60. See for example, "The Jews of England," *Asmonean*, 29 October 1852, 18–19. See also, "The Oath's Bill," *Asmonean*, 9 April 1858, 204.
61. *Asmonean*, 6 March 1857, 164, for remarks on Buchanan's inaugural address.

of the Israelites in the United States, asking trustees and officers of congregations and societies throughout the country to furnish particulars about their associations, names of officers, number of members, and so forth.[62] His Orthodox background led him, like Leeser, to the inevitable conclusion that a Beth Din, a national ecclesiastical authority, would be the best method to achieve his goal.

"Unity is Strength," wrote Lyon. While regretting the lack of a reliable count of the number of Jews in America, or even of New York City, Lyon noted announcements from societies in the city. He found that "The public are astounded at the numerous list of its members"; one society, only fifteen months old, had three hundred. B'nai B'rith had seven hundred New York members. "We doubt if the majority of these persons are members of the other friendly institutions," Lyon wrote. There were nine lodges, with fifteen hundred members in Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, and B'nai B'rith was only eight years old then.[63] Furthermore, Lyon believed that the B'nai B'rith would continue to flourish "until it counts its supporters by thousands instead of hundreds." He praised the bonds binding member to member, the principles and values of the religion and morality, aiding the feeble, helping the afflicted, and guarding the widow and orphan.

"The great majority [of German Jews] . . . remained within Judaism and created a version satisfying to their desire for a religion which harmonized intellectually with contemporary liberalism, rationalism, and historical scholarship."
– Gartner, "Immigration and American Jewry."

Yet he never wanted his newspaper to serve only one group.

> Party is the madness of many. We assume to have an opinion aiming at impartiality without deviating to the right or the left. We shall express what we think fearlessly, granting to others the same unfettered right of expression. English by birth, we do not disavow a latent feeling from respect from the institution. . . . American by self-adoption, we are strongly imbued with the justice and truth of republican principles, indeed we have constantly in mind the career of our ancestors, whose course from a nomade [sic] tribe to a monarchy was that of a pure democracy, pagan history can furnish few examples more enduring, in our political aspirations we are republicans, in our religious faith we are Hebrews, not English, or German, Portuguese or Polish, but Jews, units of a great aggregate. . . . Heretofor [sic], there has been too much sectional feeling, dividing congregations and societies, impeding their healthy action upon momentous.[64]

Lyon spoke out: he wanted unity and peace, the "balms" for the evils that had passed. He thought the antagonistic powers

62. "To Correspondents," *Asmonean*, 14 December 1849, 57.
63. "Unity is Strength," *Asmonean*, 7 February 1851, 124.
64. "The Unity of Judaism," *Asmonean*, 8 November 1849, 4.

possessed sufficient moral courage to forego the heat inflicted on the "body they . . . profess to venerate."[65]

Lyon made a living by purveying news; he did not obtrude his personality on the *Asmonean*. He felt people would not support a "party" organ, and he probably did not have the confidence of those knowledgeable about theological matters to call attention to himself and thrust his own opinions onto his readers. Editors of other antebellum publications going to the Jewish community in America subserved the ideas which they wanted to advance. As editor of the *Asmonean*, Lyon wanted to conduct a publication for a wide audience. Producing a publication for the benefit of one party, he thought, would only cripple the effectiveness of that editorial effort.

Because Lyon appealed to a wider audience, his paper appealed to advertisers. He sought to make Jewish readers more American by acquiring knowledge about the country they now lived in and how it operated. He ran stories about reading material, books, and magazines of his day. His theater reviews and reviews of dance and vocal performances appeared frequently. He also ran whole pages of market items and prices, including pork, lard, and ham.[66] He needed to take in a fair amount of money, however, because he paid his editorial workers, columnists, and translators.

"By 1890 nearly every synagogue founded by German Jews had overturned the traditions of centuries and taken up the new way."
– Gartner, "Immigration and American Jewry."

Lyon had instruction from Mordecai Manual Noah, a superbly successful editor.[67] The two men engaged in discussions about a Noah-Lyon weekly newspaper.[68] However, the newspaper never appeared.[69] Lyon advocated community development, and corrected instances of corruption, deception, or injustice. Thus it was the *Asmonean* that led the fight for a Jewish hospital based on democratic practices, and that repeatedly urged the establishment of a Jewish orphan asylum. It was Robert Lyon who decried the unnecessary duplication of Jewish charities in New York, and who sought Jewish schools. The *Asmonean* can be praised for its public service.

Surely Lyon had a sense of the role of an editor and journalistically the conception of a newspaper as opposed to a publica-

65. Albany," *Asmonean*, 11 October 1850, 196.
66. See, for example, *Asmonean*, 16 July 1852, 105.
67. Jonathan D. Sarna, *Jacksonian Jew: The Two Worlds of Mordecai Noah* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981), 128. This book is the definitive treatment of Noah.
68. "News Items: New York," *Occident* 5 (August 1847): 274. "We are almost sure it would result in a pecuniary loss . . . there is as yet no reading Jewish public of a great extent in America; from Christians but little support can be expected; and the German Jews who are here will hardly encourage any publication, even in their own language. Our friends may take our word for it, as we have sufficient experience of the extent of support realised, to speak with more certainty than they can, of the prospects of any Jewish publication under present circumstances. Ten years hence it will be different."
69. Nevertheless Noah may have assisted financially, as Lyon himself hinted. Noah probably taught Lyon how to conduct a truly local paper.

tion for the dissemination of views. Indeed, Lyon's newspaper was truly for a mass audience. The *Asmonean* reached out to readers, to provide leadership in the community, a community at once assimilating yet recognizing its special place in America. Yet Lyon recognized that American Jews had interests outside the American Jewish community. Therefore, he determined it was feasible to run articles dealing with business, the theater, literature, and politics. Lyon developed an excellent financial section, perhaps modeled on the "money page" of James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*. He aggressively promoted his advertisers, although some advertisements smacked of bad taste, quackery, and sensationalism. Certainly the *Asmonean* looked like the most financially successful Jewish publication of the era. Unfortunately his publication died with him, although for weeks after his death his widow pleaded for somebody to buy the paper or at least conduct it—to no avail. The paper folded.[70]

70. "To the Subscribers of the 'Asmonean' and the Jewish Public in General," *Asmonean*, 19 March 1858, 180; *Asmonean*, 26 March 1858, 188; "To the Subscribers of the 'Asmonean' and the Jewish Public in General," and "A Tribute and a Consolation," *Asmonean*, 2 April 1858, 196; "To the Subscribers of the 'Asmonean' and the Jewish Public in General," *Asmonean*, 9 April 1858, 204; *Asmonean*, 16 April 1858, 4; and *Asmonean*, 14 May 1858, 36. (Numbers 2, 3, and 4 were missing.) It should be noted that Rabbi Isaac Bondi of Anshe Chesed started the *Hebrew Leader* in 1859, which ran until 1874; the early issues are missing.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: PUBLIC RELATIONS PIONEER

How TR Controlled Presidential Press Coverage

Rodger Streitmatter

NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT HAS played a larger role in institutionalizing public relations in the White House than did Theodore Roosevelt. Between 1901 and 1909, Roosevelt revolutionized presidential news coverage by dominating the news—and news reporters—through the calculated publicizing of his personality, his personal life, and news events he contrived. The larger-than-life Roosevelt radiated publicity and became a master press agent for himself and his administration.[1]

And yet Roosevelt's acumen for and success at public relations have never been adequately recognized by president-press observers, who, instead, have blamed recent presidents for allowing public relations to eclipse press relations at the White House. Those observers have attributed public relations techniques such as staged news events, the photo opportunity, the calculated timing of announcements, the anonymous source, and the manipulation and coercion of the press corps to the administrations of the last half century.[2] But all of these techniques

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1. Two of the reporters who covered Roosevelt discuss his success at attracting publicity in their writings. They are Isaac Marcosson, *Adventures in Interviewing* (New York: John Lane, 1920), 85; J.J. Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt: Press-Agent," *Harper's Weekly*, 28 September 1907, 1410.

2. Many works attribute the creation of White House public relations techniques to presidents who have served since Theodore Roosevelt. For examples regarding Dwight D. Eisenhower, see Robert F. Burk, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Hero and Politician* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1986), 148–50; Marquis Childs, *Eisenhower: Captive Hero* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958), 218–21; Peter Lyon, *Eisenhower: Portrait of the Hero* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), 483–84, 511; James E. Pollard, "Eisenhower and the Press: The Partial News Vacuum," *Journalism Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1976): 3–8; John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts, *The Press and the Presidency: From George Washington to Ronald Reagan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 464–76. For examples regarding John F. Kennedy, see Victor Lasky, *JFK: The Man and the Myth* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 531–35; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic,1978), 171–72; Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency*, 476–89. For examples regarding Lyndon

originated during the Theodore Roosevelt presidency in the first decade of this century.

This article identifies and discusses Theodore Roosevelt's public relations techniques, many of which continue to exist, in more sophisticated forms, in today's White House. Concurrently, then, the findings of this article suggest that many of the obstacles that members of the presidential press corps face in the 1990s are not new. For those obstacles were firmly planted at the White House a century ago.

The second half of the nineteenth century was not a period of rapid advancement in the president-press relationship. During this period, the political parties generally controlled the office of the presidency, while the individuals in that office were characterized by a general level of mediocrity. From the perspective of the press, the White House was not an important source of news, and not a single correspondent regularly covered the Executive Mansion.[3] Congressmen had been much quicker than presidents to recognize the benefits of publicity. So the legislators had, in 1823, established press galleries in both the Senate and House of Representatives.[4] The fifty correspondents working in Washington learned about the activities of the president second hand, through congressmen who met regularly with the president and then recalled those meetings for the correspondents gathered in the press galleries.[5] The president-press relationship had been

Johnson, see Paul Conkin, *Big Daddy from the Pedernales* (Boston: Twayne, 1986), 184–86; David Cuthbert, "Johnson and the Media," in *Exploring the Johnson Years* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 214–30; Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 171–72; Alfred Steinberg, *Sam Johnson's Boy* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 536; Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency*, 489–500. For examples regarding Richard Nixon, see James David Barber, *The Pulse of Politics: Electing Presidents in the Media Age* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), 320; James Deakin, *Straight Stuff—The Reporters, the White House, and the Truth* (New York: William Morris, 1984), 255–94; Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency*, 500–15; Theodore White, *The Making of the President 1968* (New York: Signet Books, 1970), 130. For examples regarding Jimmy Carter, see Michael Baruch Grossman and Martha Joynt Kumar, *Portraying the President: The White House and the News Media* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 11–12; Laurence H. Shoup, *The Carter Presidency, and Beyond* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Ramparts Press, 1980), 67–68, 94; Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency*, 521–31. For examples regarding Ronald Reagan, see David S. Broder, *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How the News Is Made* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 180–82; William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 478–80; Bill Plante, "Why We Were Shouting at the President," *Washington Post*, 11 October 1987, 7(H); Tebbel and Watts, The *Press and the Presidency*, 531–53; Steven Weisman, "The President and the Press: The Art of Controlled Access," *New York Times Magazine*, 14 October 1984, 35–37.

3. "W.W. Price Dead; Washington Editor," *New York Times*, 25 October 1931, 28; "'Bill' Price Dies after Operation," *Washington Star*, 25 October 1931, B-12.

4. Delbert Clark, *Washington Dateline* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1941), 15; "News of Congress," *Washington Evening Star*, 21 December 1895, 10.

5. "News of Congress, A Visit to the Press Galleries in Both Houses," *Washington Evening Star*, 21 December 1895, 16; Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency*, 319.

languishing in virtual dormancy, then, when Roosevelt was suddenly thrust into the White House.

Roosevelt stormed the presidency with the confidence that often can be found in a person reared in a wealthy, patrician family where all things seem possible. Indeed, before Roosevelt turned forty years of age, he already had achieved the impossible. Despite childhood illness that prevented him from progressing through traditional schooling, Roosevelt had overcome his physical limitations to earn a Phi Beta Kappa key from Harvard and to become a military hero as a Rough Rider cavalryman.[6] Both his privileged upbringing and his personal triumphs inclined Roosevelt toward flexibility and a willingness to experiment with new approaches and to forge new paths.

During his two terms in office, Roosevelt developed a new relationship with the fledgling Washington press corps. He redefined that relationship, establishing press relations as a recognized public function of the chief executive. A master of self-promotion, he secured his original popularity by his publicity, and then he extended and strengthened that popularity through more publicity. Above all the other men of his time, Roosevelt understood the power and necessity of publicity if a person is to achieve substantive results.[7] Roosevelt recognized the effect that news had on public opinion and then exploited that effect, experimenting with innovative public relations techniques by which he made journalism work for him.

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"Continually opposed by his party's chieftains, [Roosevelt] could not have climbed to the Presidency without an alternative channel to power. For TR, the channel was the new mass-circulation newspaper, exploding on the scene in New York City just as he was gearing up his career."

– James D. Barber, *The Pulse of Politics.*

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Roosevelt's presidency coincided with the American newspaper's evolution into a big business.[8] As publishers invested increasingly larger sums of capital in newspapers, they felt mounting pressure to build the large circulations that would attract advertisers. Turn-of-the-century publishers, therefore, learned and responded to the reality that the masses would rather be entertained by personal details about people in the news than read technical details about statecraft. In covering the White House, therefore, newspapers eagerly emphasized human-interest material. During the Progressive Era, the trivia from the personal lives of American presidents became a staple of the White House press corps.[9]

Roosevelt fit perfectly with the new emphasis on personal coverage. Reporters covering the White House—as well as their readers—were captivated by Roosevelt's robust, dynamic per-

6. Roscoe Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1919), 126; David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 207.

7. Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt," 1410.

8. J. Lincoln Steffens, "The Business of a Newspaper," *Scribner's Magazine* 22 (October 1897): 447; "The Advance of Fifty Years," *Editor and Publisher*, 5 October 1901, 4.

9. This trend is discussed by president-press scholar George Juergens in *News From the White House: The Presidential-Press Relationship in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 7.

sonality, to the point that who Roosevelt was and how Roosevelt lived sometimes overshadowed what he did, although he did quite a lot.[10]

Roosevelt recognized that newspapers had changed since the Civil War. The era of the powerful publishers, such as James Gordon Bennett, Charles Dana, and Horace Greeley, had passed; the era of the news reporter had arrived. Roosevelt said: "In our country, I am inclined to think that almost, if not quite, the most important profession is that of the newspaper man. He wields great influence."[11] On another occasion, Roosevelt said: "It is, of course, a truism to say that no other body of our countrymen wield as extensive an influence as those who write for the daily press and for the other periodicals."[12]

Roosevelt knew that modern, industrialized, urbanized America wanted facts, not opinions, and that it wanted those facts presented in terse bulletins, not flowery discourse. Roosevelt accurately gauged the importance of the individual reporter, understanding that, among the masses of the early 1900s, news stories that appeared on the front page were more effective in molding public opinion than were cerebral editorials. If he could use his personality to influence how reporters wrote about him on page one, it would not matter a great deal what the sages might say about his policies on the editorial page.

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"[Roosevelt] is the most adroit, the most far-seeing, the frankest, and the least secretive of the entire guild of publicity promoters upon the round earth to-day."

– J.J. Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt: Press Agent."

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Essentially, Roosevelt saw the public's insatiable curiosity about the president as a resource, not a threat. That curiosity offered Roosevelt the opportunity to dramatize himself, to become a symbol of the country he was leading into world prominence. If the minutiae of a president's life were of public interest, the president could achieve a mythic status. He could grow larger than life and, by so doing, rise to a higher plane than that of the people who might challenge him. Roosevelt was aware that it would serve him well to flood the newspapers with stories about himself, regardless of the degree to which that meant his personal life was exposed to public view. Understanding the advantages of remaining constantly in the public eye, Roosevelt willingly revealed himself—or at least the image he created of himself—to a curious public.

Roosevelt's publicity-seeking techniques can best be analyzed through the discussion of seven general public relations principles that guided him. Together, these techniques and these principles define Roosevelt's strategy in relating to the press and, ultimately, to the public.

First, Roosevelt expanded the boundaries of presidential news. The traditional definition of White House news—a daily

10. David S. Barry, who covered Roosevelt for the *New York Sun*, discussed this point in *Forty Years in Washington* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1924), 263.
11. Frank L. Mott and R.D. Casey, *Interpretations of Journalism* (New York: F.S. Crofts, 1937), 472.
12. Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt," 1410.

chronicle of official activity—was too passive for him. Roosevelt was the first occupant of the White House who understood that, with imagination, the president could generate news on demand and dominate the news by making his personality and personal life of compelling public interest. He knew that the president, unlike any other government official, can be certain of universal newspaper play by merely releasing an item about a routine activity in his daily life.[13]

"Teddy" Roosevelt captured the imagination of the press and the public. When he ascended to the presidency at the age of forty-three, he became the youngest man ever to enter the White House—fifteen years younger than his predecessor. And, unlike Grover Cleveland and William McKinley before him, he was dynamic, with a great deal of personal magnetism. Roosevelt biographer Edmund Morris wrote: "Teddy Roosevelt is a man of such overwhelming physical impact that he stamps himself immediately on the consciousness."[14] And a contemporary of Roosevelt provided a graphic image when he observed: "You go to the White House, you shake hands with Roosevelt and hear him talk—and then you go home to wring the personality out of your clothes."[15] Roosevelt used the East Room for bouts with Japanese jujitsu experts and Chinese wrestlers, and Secret Service men struggled to keep up with him during his daily hikes and horseback rides.[16] Such activities translated into compelling newspaper copy.

Typical was a front-page story in the *New York Times* titled "President's Riding Pace Too Fast for Troopers." The story described Roosevelt's visit to Chattanooga, Tennessee, where members of his party rode in carriages while the president mounted a horse:

> The cavalcade was hardly under way before the President started his horse at a sharp trot, and for a mile and a half led the regiment a merry chase over the battlefield. The pace was so hot that several of the troopers were unhorsed, and it was necessary to call the ambulance corps into service.[17]

Today's reader is amazed by the lack of substance in many of the stories written about Roosevelt. Non-news clearly had the potential of garnering prominent coverage, as long as it involved the president. A story on the front page of the *Washington Post*,

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13. George E. Reedy, press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, discusses this topic in *The Twilight of the Presidency* (New York: New American Library, 1970), 102.
14. Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1979), 20.
15. Edward Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1958), 108.
16. Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 270.
17. "President's Riding Pace Too Fast for Troopers," *New York Times*, 7 September 1903, 1.

for example, began: "President Roosevelt passed a quiet Sunday with his family at his Sagamore Hill home."[18] A *New York Times* story was created simply by the White House announcing who had visited Roosevelt one day while he was vacationing at Oyster Bay: "President Roosevelt had four guests at luncheon this afternoon. They were invited some time ago." All four men said their visits were social, not official, but that did not prevent the most powerful newspaper in the country from devoting thirty column inches of its front page to the minute details.[19]

While Roosevelt never hesitated to publicize his own personal activities, his willingness to extend that publicity to his children is a testament to his growth as a public relations pioneer. When Roosevelt entered the White House, he attempted to shield his children from the press. "I want to feel that there is a circle drawn about my family," he told reporters. "I ask you to respect their privacy."[20] If a reporter violated the First Family's privacy, he faced Roosevelt's wrath. Just before the family's first Thanksgiving in the White House, for example, a *New York World* reporter wrote that the Roosevelt children had tormented turkeys being fattened up on the south grounds of the mansion, chasing and frightening them. The president ordered that news from the White House and executive departments no longer be given to the *World*.[21]

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"There were 58 correspondents in Washington in 1868, and 171 by 1900 . . . 209 in 1920, 251 a decade later. . . . in 1982 . . . there were 4,300 accredited members."

– John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts, *The Press and the Presidency.*

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But Roosevelt soon made a 180-degree turn regarding press coverage of his family, realizing that his six children—ages three to seventeen when he entered office—could keep the Roosevelt name in the newspaper on dull news days. The change was documented by Alice Roosevelt Longworth in her autobiography. She recalled, with incredulity, that, before her family entered the White House, "'Publicity' for the members of a politician's family was not considered either necessary or 'nice.'"[22] But then the First Daughter discussed how her father had ended the ban on the First Family being a source of publicity. She said: "Being photographed became almost a matter of course."[23]

The Roosevelt children made their way into print through the spotlighting of their various antics and personality traits. Ethel, for example, became the greatest tomboy in First Family history through reports about her strength and courage. Typical of newspaper stories that helped create this reputation was an *Atlanta Constitution* article titled "Ethel Roosevelt Is Nervy." The

18. "Sunday at Sagamore Hill," *Washington Post*, 29 June 1903, 1.
19. "The President's Guests," *New York Times*, 12 July 1902, 1.
20. Mary Randolph, secretary to seven presidents and personal friend of dozens of First Family members, quotes this statement in *Presidents and First Ladies* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936), 179.
21. Barry, *Forty Years in Washington*, 269.
22. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, *Crowded Hours* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), 34.
23. Longworth, *Crowded Hours*, 34.

story described how the cinch on Ethel's pony had slipped, resulting in the eleven-year-old landing on the ground:

> The pony reared and was about to pitch forward, when Ethel cried out to him sharply and, recognizing the voice of his mistress, the pony stood perfectly still while the little rider extricated her skirts from the stirrup and sprang to her feet. . . .
>
> She declined all offers of aid, readjusted the saddle herself and rode off again.
>
> But for her sharp cry to the pony it would have trampled upon her chest.[24]

Such stories enhanced the president's image as a strong, resourceful leader who could survive any crisis. President-press historians have concluded that Roosevelt was well aware of the benefits of such stories.[25]

"Much of Roosevelt's success as a politician, his prominence as a reformer, his leading position as a progressive came from his ability as a political journalist. He hammered out his phrases with the skill of an experienced craftsman and the unceasing energy of a prophet."
– Aloysius Norton, *Theodore Roosevelt.*

Second, Roosevelt recognized that a person in the public eye can increase his or her publicity value through dramatic statements and actions. So the image-conscious Roosevelt put his various natural abilities into use to generate publicity.

Roosevelt, for example, sprinkled his speech with vivid phrasing, choosing words that would look good in the newspaper the next day. Roosevelt carefully considered the choice of his words, weighing the precise effect of each one.[26] The list of clever, memorable statements that came from his mouth reads like a guide for how to be quotable for the press or, in contemporary terms, how to speak in television sound bites. On foreign policy: "Speak softly and carry a big stick." On the Spanish-American War: "It wasn't much of a war, but it was the best war we had." On his decision to run for president in 1912: "My hat is in the ring." On the hapless feeling of every parent of a teenager: "I can be president of the United States—or—I can attend to Alice." Roosevelt coined many punchy words and phrases that remain a part of the language to this day, including: *muckrakers, trustbusters, malefactors of great wealth, square deal, bull moose,* and *lunatic fringe.*

Roosevelt also staged events and actions to reap additional publicity. An entertainer, he tailored a good deal of his show for the press. For example, Roosevelt did not simply plan a hunting trip to Colorado in 1905—he orchestrated it. Roosevelt biographer Henry F. Pringle wrote that the president was "nervously anxious" to appear in the best light as a hunter. "The first bear must fall to my rifle. This sounds selfish, but you know the kind

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24. "Ethel Roosevelt Is Nervy," *Atlanta Constitution,* 11 July 1902, 1.
25. James E. Pollard, the pioneer in the study of president-press relations, came to this conclusion in his book, *The Presidents and the Press* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 569.
26. Charles Willis Thompson, who covered Roosevelt for the *New York Times,* discusses the president's precision as a wordsmith in *Presidents I've Known* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1929), 115.

of talk there will be in the newspapers about such a hunt," Roosevelt wrote a fellow hunter. "It must be a success, and the success must come to me."[27] Other overt acts that Roosevelt undertook, at least partly as publicity stunts, included descending to the bottom of Long Island Sound in a navy submarine, operating a steam shovel while he was in Panama observing progress on construction of the canal, and riding ninety-eight miles on horseback in seventeen hours, proving that the commander-in-chief could meet the requirements he had set for senior military officers.

But the best illustration of Rooseveltean high drama followed an act of fate. During the 1912 campaign, Roosevelt had set out to address a political rally in Milwaukee when he was shot by a fanatic opposed to the idea of a third-term president. The address was only a minor campaign event, but Roosevelt refused to alter his schedule. "I will deliver this speech or die, one or the other," he said, as though he were delivering a line from a Shakespearean tragedy.[28] The next day's story, which blanketed the entire front page of the *New York Times*, was extraordinary, depicting Roosevelt in the heroic dimensions of a twentieth century prophet. Roosevelt's dramatic gesture had paid off, with interest:

> Col. Roosevelt arose and walked to the edge of the platform to quiet the crowd. He raised his hand and instantly there was silence.
>
> "It's true," he said. Then slowly he unbuttoned his coat and placed his hand on his breast. Those in the front of the crowd could catch a sight of the blood-stained garment.
>
> "I'm going to ask you to be very quiet," said Col. Roosevelt, "and please excuse me from making you a very long speech.
>
> "I'll do the best I can, but you see there is a bullet in my body."[29]

Roosevelt had to halt his speech four times, the story stated, because of the applause and "tumultuous cheering."

Roosevelt's decision to give the speech was a public relations triumph. Regardless of whether his action was spontaneous or calculated—or some of both—it pumped new life into the campaign. Of course Roosevelt did not stage the shooting itself, nor is there proof that he made the speech for its publicity value. But the statement Roosevelt released from his hospital bed two days later certainly shows that he played the incident for all the drama he could get:

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27. Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (Rahway, N.J.: Quinn and Boden, 1931), 345.
28. "Maniac in Milwaukee Shoots Col. Roosevelt; He Ignores Wound, Speaks an Hour, Goes to Hospital," *New York Times*, 15 October 1912, 1.
29. "Maniac in Milwaukee," 1.

> "If one soldier who happens to carry the flag is stricken another will take it from his hands and carry it on. One after another the standard bearers may be laid low, but the standard itself can never fall.... Tell the people not to worry about me, for if I go down another will take my place."[30]

Third, Roosevelt recognized that a powerful official's public image will be enhanced if the public perceives him as remaining close to the ordinary citizens whom he governs. Historian John Morton Blum described Roosevelt as "an easy companion of the woodsmen and cowboys he befriended at his ranch in the Dakotas."[31] Roosevelt, seeing the merits of such a public perception, expanded and exploited his natural ability to relate to the "little people."

Of course it is impossible in every case to know if Roosevelt consciously pursued the publicity that resulted from his interaction with everyday citizens, but he definitely sought that publicity in some cases. For example, when Roosevelt learned that a McKeesport, Pennsylvania, man had named his twentieth child "Theodore," the president dispatched a personal letter to the father. Simultaneously, he took the extra, publicity-seeking step of distributing copies of the letter to newspaper reporters. Roosevelt's action landed him space on the front page of the *New York Times* because the newspaper reproduced the letter:

> "The President desires to present his congratulations to yourself and Mrs. Signet and to assure you of his hearty appreciation of the compliment paid him in the selection of a name for your son. He also wishes the young Theodore a long and prosperous life and extends his highest regards to all members of your family."[32]

A close reading of newspaper articles suggests that many of Roosevelt's personal activities may have been staged for their publicity benefit. A story about the family attending an Episcopal church near Sagamore Hill, for example, stated: "At the conclusion of services an opportunity was taken by the members of the parish to pay their respects to the Chief Executive."[33] It is likely that it was Roosevelt who provided parishoners with that opportunity—and the newsmen with the opportunity to write their stories.

Indeed, Roosevelt may have been the first president to orchestrate a photo opportunity. When an Associated Press reporter was writing a story about Thanksgiving at the White House, Roosevelt arranged for the story to be illustrated with a

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30. "'Not I, the Cause,' Roosevelt's Motto," *New York Times*, 17 October 1912, 1.
31. John Morton Blum, *The Progressive Presidents: TR, Wilson, FDR, LBJ* (New York: Norton, 1980), 23.
32. "President to His Namesake," *New York Times*, 10 July 1903, 1.
33. "Sunday at Sagamore Hill," *Washington Post*, 29 June 1903, 1.

photograph of him signing a Thanksgiving proclamation—even though obtaining the photograph meant staging an event. Roosevelt delayed signing the paper until the photographer arrived at the White House, then interrupted a session with his secretary of state, who was at the White House to help him prepare his annual message to the country, so that the photographer could arrange the camera and the sitting.[34] Roosevelt's delaying of an important matter of state in order for a news photographer to capture the image of a contrived event contains all the components of the most popular contemporary public relations technique at the White House, the photo opportunity.

Fourth, Roosevelt was aware that how news is disseminated, such as the timing and presentation of announcements, can influence the quantity and the quality of news coverage. This astuteness was most clearly demonstrated in his public relations policy of timing the release of announcements to ensure the most desirable treatment in the press.[35]

• • • • •
"What Roosevelt wanted was a publicity machine ready at hand that he had only to crank up whenever he needed it." – Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency.*
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Roosevelt understood the cycles of breaking news. He announced negative news on Friday, ensuring that stories were published on Saturday when many people were more interested in enjoying the weekend than in reading the newspaper. And he saved positive news until Sunday, on the other hand, because he wanted the guarantee that the stories would receive good play in Monday editions. Reporters have trouble filling Monday newspapers because most sources are dry on the weekend, when Monday stories must be written. Stories released on Sunday, therefore, tend to receive more space and to be given stronger placement. Roosevelt was the first national politician to see the advantage of disseminating important utterances on Sunday.[36]

A researcher has no difficulty identifying the results of Roosevelt's calculated timing. A typical example appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* on a Monday in 1903. The extremely favorable story began:

> The interior decorative work on the White House has gone so far that it is possible to appreciate the beauty of the scheme of improvement that is being wrought out. . . . The work that has been done on the east front to construct the new entrance has been pushed at a rapid pace lately.[37]

The information contained in the article obviously was not of such a timely nature that it could not have been released the previous week. But the positive tone of the story makes it clear

34. The reporter was Arthur Wallace Dunn, who describes the event in *From Harrison to Harding: A Personal Narrative, Covering a Third of a Century* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1922), 2:24–25.
35. Pollard, *Presidents and the Press*, 569.
36. Willis J. Abbot, who covered Roosevelt for Hearst Newspapers, discusses this topic in *Watching the World Go By* (New York: Beekman, 1974), 244.
37. "The New White House," *New York Times*, 7 September 1903, 1.

why the White House held the information for optimum play and impact.

Roosevelt also timed news events to deny coverage to his political opponents, using his status as the number-one newsmaker in the country to dominate the news whenever he wanted. Roosevelt taught this lesson to Charles Evans Hughes in 1908. When Hughes announced that he would meet with the Republican Club of New York on the night of 31 January to talk about national issues, Roosevelt knew that the New York governor would use the appearance to announce his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination, which Roosevelt wanted to go to his friend, Secretary of War William Howard Taft. Hughes expected the newspapers to report his statement the morning after he made it, but Roosevelt did not want Hughes's name in the headlines.[38] So, on the afternoon of 31 January—too late for publication in the afternoon newspapers—Roosevelt announced that he was calling on Congress to provide workmen's compensation for federal employees and to regulate the abuse of the injunction in labor disputes. The president's announcement was a bombshell that sent shockwaves through the country's business community—and obliterated news coverage of Hughes's announcement. Roosevelt biographer William Henry Harbaugh labeled Roosevelt's action a "brilliant political maneuver."[39] When critics said that the president had treated Hughes unfairly, Roosevelt told reporters: "If Hughes is going to play the game, he must learn the tricks."[40]

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"[Roosevelt's] guiding motto is this: 'Let me have free access to the channels of publicity and I care not who makes my country's laws—or what the other fellow does.'"
– Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt."
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Fifth, Roosevelt expanded the duties of the presidential staff to include press relations. He did this by delegating publicity responsibilities not only to his two executive secretaries, but also to the first White House social secretary and to at least one chief administrator for an executive agency.[41]

Roosevelt laid the groundwork for the position of presidential press secretary, although he left it to the efficiency-minded Herbert Hoover to designate one person, George Akerson, to work full time as press secretary, per se. "Roosevelt's two key aides filled the same position in all but name," Juergens wrote in his study of press-president relations during the Progressive Era.[42]

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38. William Henry Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1961), 336.
39. Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility*, 336.
40. Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility*, 336.
41. The fact that several Roosevelt staff members undertook public relations duties indicates that it was the president himself, and not a specific aide, who was the architect of Roosevelt's press policies. Further evidence that the policies came from Roosevelt is the fact that those policies began to evolve when Roosevelt was governor of New York and continued to evolve throughout his presidency, and no single staff member with press responsibilities remained with Roosevelt throughout that time period.
42. Juergens, *News from the White House*, 46.

The first of these two aides was George Cortelyou, the executive secretary Roosevelt inherited from William McKinley. Cortelyou's duties included those generally attached to a secretary, such as taking dictation and making appointments, and also extended to those of an office manager. Under Roosevelt, Cortelyou also was given the responsibility of dealing with the press. If a reporter had a question that the president was too busy to answer or that could be answered just as well by the secretary, the reporter was sent to Cortelyou.[43]

The Roosevelt aide most closely involved with reporters was William Loeb, Jr., whom Roosevelt named executive secretary when he appointed Cortelyou to head the newly created Department of Commerce and Labor. When Roosevelt was governor of New York State, Loeb had served as his secretary. When Roosevelt became president, he came to rely more and more heavily upon his loyal assistant. It was during the six years that Loeb served as presidential secretary that the position expanded significantly into the area of press relations. Loeb, for example, was given the power to provide the press with official denials.[44] It was Loeb's assessment of public opinion that prompted Roosevelt to designate his presidential successor.[45]

One of the most important powers Roosevelt gave Loeb was that of controlling the amount of access reporters had to the White House. Although Roosevelt was the most accessible of presidents, there were practical limits to reaching the president of the United States. After all, news correspondents could not be calling the president at all hours of the night. But there was no such limitation on a secretary. Newsmen routinely called Loeb as late as 1 a.m., which was even later than they were willing to call their own bosses.[46] Loeb's virtually unlimited availability meant that correspondents could, for the first time, depend on the White House as a news source every minute of every day. And such access also meant that the White House could be mined for some sort of story even on the slowest of news days.

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"The mobile countenance of the serviceable Loeb . . . is the barometer by which the cuckoo gauges his standing at the White House."
– Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt."
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Loeb's most visible press function was leading the daily press briefing, a phenomenon that had begun under McKinley. The White House used such sessions to make announcements that may not have been worth the president's time, and yet still had the potential of resulting in newspaper coverage. The briefings also provided a vehicle through which Roosevelt could successfully disseminate information about subjects that he wanted covered but that were more appropriately handled by someone other than the president. It was Loeb, for example, who provided most of the details about the Roosevelt children and family activities. In giving Loeb this responsibility, Roosevelt essen-

43. Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency*, 338.
44. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 410.
45. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 500–501.
46. Louis W. Koenig, *The Invisible Presidency* (New York: Rinehart, 1960), 175.

tially allowed the secretary to determine the exact amount of privacy the president and First Family were allowed.[47]

Loeb also established the tradition of a presidential press secretary serving his boss by accepting the blame for actions that the president actually had taken but that later were criticized by the press or the public. In the words of political scientist Louis Koenig, "If things went wrong, the trusty formula was applied, 'blame it on Loeb.'"[48] An example involved Roosevelt's request that Congress allot ninety thousand dollars to maintain and improve the White House stables where his favorite horses were kept, even though the White House itself received only sixty thousand dollars for the same purpose. Koenig wrote: "By some roundabout and not altogether convincing explanations seeking to prove he was to blame, Loeb took the lashes involved for this gaudy fiscal expression of equine love."[49]

Another example of how Roosevelt added press relations to the functions of the presidential staff was the appointment of the first White House social secretary, whose duties included publicizing White House social events. Ishbel Ross wrote in her groundbreaking history of American women journalists that the bars around the First Family "were let down an inch" by the appointment of the social secretary:

> She sent out dinner lists, so that at least the society editors were appeased. At the bottom of each list there usually appeared an item about the flowers, and a brief note saying that the President's wife would wear black satin and pearls, and Alice would wear blue, or whatever the costume of the evening happened to be.[50]

Another member of the Roosevelt administration who played an important role in the expansion of staff functions into the area of public relations was Gifford Pinchot, chief of the U.S. Forest Service. Pinchot's efforts to increase publicity for his agency clearly demonstrated that Roosevelt's public relations efforts extended well beyond the White House. In his examination of Pinchot's press management efforts, Stephen Ponder wrote: "Agency records and congressional debate suggest that government management of news by executive branch agencies was widespread."[51]

With Roosevelt's encouragement, Pinchot revolutionized government agency press relations. He created a press bureau, hiring former newspaper reporters to write and to distribute

47. Juergens, *News from the White House*, 48.
48. Koenig, *Invisible Presidency*, 162.
49. Koenig, *Invisible Presidency*, 162.
50. Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), 311.
51. Stephen Ponder, "Federal News Management in the Progressive Era: Gifford Pinchot and the Conservation Crusade," *Journalism History* 13 (Summer 1986): 43.

news releases to secure newspaper and magazine coverage. He developed a lecture program that sent conservation lecturers—preceded by press releases, of course—across the country.

The most sophisticated of Pinchot's public relations achievements was the staging of news events. In his book, *Breaking New Ground*, Pinchot advised that: "Action is the best advertisement. The most effective way to get your cause before the public is to do something the papers will have to tell about."[52] Among the "news events" that Pinchot staged were a White House Conference on Conservation and an American Forest Congress, which brought together four hundred representatives of businesses dependent on forest resources. Pinchot's greatest public relations achievement came in 1907, when Roosevelt led a group of officials, news correspondents, and photographers on a steamboat cruise down the Mississippi River to gain support for a national waterways policy. Photographs of both Roosevelt and Pinchot taken during the trip were reproduced in newspapers all over the country.[53]

Roosevelt said of Pinchot's conservation publicity campaign:

> It is doubtful whether there has ever been elsewhere under the government such effective publicity—publicity in the interest of the people—at so low a cost. . . . It was securing the publication of facts about forestry in fifty million copies of newspapers a month at a total expense of six thousand dollars a year. Not one cent has ever been paid by the forest service to any publication of any kind for the printing of this material. It was given out freely, and published without cost because it was news.[54]

In his autobiography, Roosevelt also praised Pinchot as the most valuable public official in his administration.[55]

Sixth, Roosevelt was convinced that a newsmaker would receive favorable press coverage if he won the affection of the correspondents covering him. The president, therefore, accommodated reporters in an effort to pull them onto his White House team.

Outwardly, Roosevelt's relationship with the press appeared relaxed and friendly, differing dramatically from the press-president relationships that came before or after. His aim was to use his personality and his power to charm the reporters, to make them feel that he had taken them into his confidence and, therefore, had made them insiders at the White House and in the

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"Roosevelt's successful rise to the Presidency . . . was fueled by his remarkable relationship with the reporters of his day."

– Barber, *The Pulse of Politics.*

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52. Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947), 329.
53. Ponder, "Federal News Management," 45.
54. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Octagon Books, 1958), 215.
55. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, 210.

creation of national and international policy. If the reporters thought of themselves as part of a presidential team that was shaping history, they would write favorably of their leader and his programs.

Roosevelt referred to the reporters as his "Newspaper Cabinet" and always tried to make them feel like they were part of his team. The president was more than willing to do so, convinced that his investment would produce lucrative returns through favorable coverage by the press corps.

Roosevelt shattered precedent by making himself available to correspondents daily and adopting a "boy's club" style of press briefing that was entirely new to the newsmen. He had developed the style while he was governor of New York. Both as governor and as president, he provided reporters with confidences, anecdotes, jokes, and legislative gossip. When he had to give them an official statement, his tone would become more formal. After Roosevelt made an official statement, biographer Edmund Morris said: "He would confess the truth behind the statement, with such gleeful frankness that the reporters felt flattered to be included in his conspiracy."[56]

Roosevelt can be credited with creating the presidential press corps because he was the man who first provided permanent White House quarters where reporters covering the president could assemble.[57] One day Roosevelt saw a group of reporters standing in the rain and cold, buttonholing politicians. The president immediately ordered that a small anteroom be set aside for the reporters, establishing the White House press room.[58]

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"[Roosevelt] cannot understand, in view of the fact that he is so frank and outspoken to any and all representatives of publicity who easily obtain audience with him, why newspapers or other publications should impugn his motives or question his sincerity."
– Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt."
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For Roosevelt, the action had several benefits. First, having all correspondents in one place made it easier for the president to generate news by distributing information to many reporters at one time. Second, giving reporters space inside endeared the reporters to Roosevelt. Third and most important, providing permanent quarters for the reporters inside the White House indicated to the reporters that they were not outsiders but that they were insiders, filling a public function, almost as if they were members of the president's staff.

Roosevelt's efforts paid off. He succeeded in pulling reporters into his camp and, thereby, convincing them to foresake their objectivity. His success is best documented in a revealing article published in *Harper's Weekly* six years into the Roosevelt presi-

56. Morris, *Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 693.
57. Roosevelt took the action after William W. Price of the *Washington Evening Star* decided that the existing system of gathering bits of White House news from congressmen on Capitol Hill after they had visited the president was not efficient. Price started questioning visitors as they left the White House. For a fuller discussion of Price, see the author's article "William W. Price: First White House Correspondent and Emblem of an Era," *Journalism History* 16 (Spring 1989): 7.
58. "First White House Reporter Dies," *Editor and Publisher*, 31 October 1931, 38.

dency. The article, entitled "Theodore Roosevelt: Press-Agent," argues that presidential reporters were serving as assistant press agents, with Roosevelt as their boss. The writer had worked as a White House reporter for more than a year: "I was what is known in Washington as one of the President's newspaper cuckoos. In the parlance of Washington, a cuckoo is a journalistic bird that is permitted to make its principal roost close to the Executive chamber."[59]

Seventh, Roosevelt realized that a leader's power and prestige offer a potential for manipulation of the press that can result in further expansion of the leader's power and prestige. Roosevelt used his office, as well as his abundant personal charm and charisma, to manipulate the press in various ways.

The president divided reporters into two groups. The "Paradise Club" was for his favorites, the men who always wrote favorable stories. He made these correspondents insiders to an extent never before contemplated. The "Ananias Club," on the other hand, was for the outsiders.[60] If a reporter wrote something Roosevelt believed was not true, or wished was not true, the offender was moved into the Ananias Club. Members of that group were punished by being denied access to White House news.

"Naturally, since he relies so confidently upon the power of publicity, he chafes under the criticisms of that power."
– Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt."

Roosevelt introduced this coercion on the first day of his presidency. Within hours after returning from William McKinley's funeral, Roosevelt called the managers of the three major press associations into his office and announced that if any reporter published news that the president thought should not have been published, he would be punished by having legitimate news withheld from him. When one of the press association managers protested that a personal grievance against a particular reporter should not be treated as an official matter, the president ignored the argument.[61] If a reporter wanted to obtain the news and, therefore, satisfy his editors and his readers, he had to accept Roosevelt's high-handed tactics in order to remain in the Paradise Club. Most reporters buckled under to the president's intimidation tactics and wrote the favorable stories that he wanted.

From the perspective of today's White House press corps, the most serious of Roosevelt's manipulative techniques was his invention of the "authoritative White House source." He knew he would benefit from appearing open and friendly to reporters because then they would publish material that they had heard informally but that he was not willing to release officially. So he gave reporters information with the stipulation that they had to

59. Dickinson, "Theodore Roosevelt," 1410.
60. Ananias was described in the New Testament as a man who lied about his gift to the church and then fell dead.
61. Barry, who was one of the managers, recounts the session in *Forty Years in Washington*, 268–69.

Some of the books written by Theodore Roosevelt:

The Naval War of 1812 (1882)

Hunting Trips of a Ranchman (1885)

Thomas Hart Benton (1887)

Life of Gouverneur Morris (1888)

History of the City of New York (1891)

The Winning of the West, 4 volumes (1889, 1894, 1896)

The Rough Riders (1899)

Oliver Cromwell (1900)

The Strenuous Life (1900)

Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter (1905)

African Game Trails (1910)

Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography (1913)

America and the World War (1915)

The Great Adventure (1918)

attribute it to anonymous sources. The standing White House rule against the president being quoted was enforced, and any reporter who violated the rule immediately was elected to the Ananias Club.[62] After creating this policy, Roosevelt had free rein to control exactly what words were quoted as coming directly from his mouth.

Roosevelt seemed relaxed and chatty during his press briefings, but, years later, reporters who covered the president pointed out that Roosevelt always limited his comments to what he had intended to say.[63] No one, for example, ever succeeded in prompting the president into a comment as he exited a train or entered a hotel corridor.

Reporters also helped Roosevelt inaugurate the first trial balloons launched from 1600 Pennyslvania Avenue. His chumminess with reporters and his ability to determine what could and could not be attributed to him allowed the president to test the popularity of a new policy or program he was considering. He would arrange to give an exclusive interview to a single reporter and then introduce the new idea. If the public liked the new idea, the president basked in public favor; if the new idea encountered public disapproval, Roosevelt promptly repudiated the interview, and the hapless correspondent began looking for a new job.[64] Roosevelt's most successful launch involved the selection of his successor. Roosevelt wanted Taft to succeed him, but the president did not know if Taft would be popular among voters. So, Roosevelt biographer Pringle wrote, the president used the newspapers to test Taft's public appeal, calling in his favorite reporters to assist him in the exploration.[65]

Because Roosevelt was himself a journalist—after he left the presidency, he became a contributing editor for the *Kansas City Star* and wrote monthly columns for *Outlook* and *Metropolitan* magazines—and because he had such power over the newsmen around him, he sometimes wrote the "news" from the White House in his own words. Roosevelt knew the value and influence of a news paragraph written as he wanted it written. He never hesitated to suggest news articles to reporters, and he sometimes went so far as to write out stories in his own hand.[66] One such instance occurred on a speaking tour in New England in 1902; another during a fight to enact a new railroad rate.[67]

62. Oscar King Davis, who covered Roosevelt for the *New York Sunday Times*, discusses this topic in *Released for Publication* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), 123.

63. Thompson, *Presidents I've Known*, 118–19.

64. Abbot, *Watching the World Go By*, 244.

65. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, 501.

66. Barry, *Forty Years in Washington*, 270–71.

67. The first instance involved a trolley car accident in which the president was thrown from his carriage and injured. Edna N. Colman described the incident in *White House Gossip, from Andrew Jackson to Calvin Coolidge* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, 1927), 281. The second is described in Barry, *Forty Years in Washington*, 271.

The public relations techniques Theodore Roosevelt introduced at the White House did not disappear after he left the bully pulpit eight decades ago. Indeed, they have evolved into some of the major obstacles that stand in the way of the White House press corps disseminating the news today. Examples are as common as White House press releases, although the techniques have become increasingly sophisticated. The timing of White House announcements, for example, now includes not only the day of the week, but also the precise hour of the day in order to accommodate—or manipulate—evening television news programs.[68]

Many presidents of the second half of the twentieth century have helped to develop the various public relations devices. Franklin Roosevelt built on the first Roosevelt's avoidance of direct quotations, ruling that he would be quoted directly only when his press secretary distributed the quotations in writing.[69] John F. Kennedy shined the publicity spotlight on his family even more brightly than Theodore Roosevelt had. Richard Nixon expanded Roosevelt's strategy of intimidation and coercion of the press corps. Ronald Reagan perfected Roosevelt's ability to provide the impression that he was relaxed and open while he held tight control over access to the truth. Most recently, presidential hopefuls refined Roosevelt's experimentation with photo opportunities, George Bush visiting a factory that makes American flags and Michael Dukakis wearing fatigues and a helmet while parading an Army tank in front of the TV cameras.

Many of these public relations ploys are frightening. But not one of them is new, and not one of the recent presidents should be blamed for springing them, without warning, onto the White House press corps. Reporters covering recent presidential administrations have had ample time to recognize—and to defend themselves against—the most recent manifestations of these public relations techniques. For all of these techniques were first used almost a century ago by Teddy Roosevelt, one of the best public relations men ever to reside in the White House.

68. Tebbel and Watts, *The Press and the Presidency*, 544.
69. For a full description of Franklin Roosevelt's public relations techniques, see Betty Houchin Winfield, "The New Deal Publicity Operation: Foundation for the Modern Presidency," *Journalism Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1984): 40–48.

JOURNALISM HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AND THEIR USES

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JUST AS MOST teachers of journalism have made space on their bookshelves for the sixth edition of the legendary text that has dominated the field for almost three decades, Edwin and Michael Emery's *The Press and America* faces new competition.

Three new books offer teachers of the course a viable choice of texts — Mitchell Stephens's *A History of News,* Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter's *Voices of a Nation,* and William David Sloan, James Stovall, and James D. Startt's *The Media in America.* All three books are well-written attempts to enhance diversity in the journalism history text marketplace. All three differentiate themselves from the Emerys' new edition, which has been reviewed favorably by Don Shaw in *Journalism History* (Spring 1988) and by Frank Krompac in *American Journalism* (Summer 1988). Shaw does point out that the book at certain points "requires much from the teacher . . . to chart a course through this thicket of trends, issues, names, and developments" (36). At the same time, the new edition has been somewhat "streamlined," according to Krompac (179), and it remains a valuable and comprehensive reference book, updated through the Iran-Contra affair, with notes and an annotated bibliography at the book's end.

The task, then, for those of us selecting readings for journalism history is to determine what becomes a legend most: What might we like to retain from the Emery tradition? And, at the same time, what might we like to see added, deleted, or altered?

The three books considered here differ in some significant respects from one another. Stephens's book, already available in paper, uses as its overarching theme the history of news, a staple of all human societies, allowing for illumination of "continuities across centuries and cultures." The book is divided into six sections, each organized chronologically: (1) spoken news, in villages, marketplaces, and coffeehouses; (2) written news, in the Roman Empire, China, and Europe; (3) printed news, in ballads and newsbooks; (4) newspapers, from Strasbourg in 1609 through mass-circulation papers; (5) reporting, from its beginning through problems with objectivity; and (6) electronic news. The book, which covers "two or three milennia of newsmongers," first mentions Gutenberg on page 86 and is half finished before it turns to newspapers. Extensive and extremely useful notes and bibliography appear at the book's end.

Stephens points out in his introduction that this is an interpretive as opposed to an exhaustive history, one that concentrates on people and publications that illuminate the nature of journalism, which he defines as "the activity of gathering and disseminating the news." The book is meant in part to correct past interpretations that "see innovations and firsts where we should be seeing connections and continuities." Much of the continuity, he says, is "previously unobserved," and the

Books Reviewed In This Essay

A HISTORY OF NEWS: FROM THE DRUM TO THE SATELLITE. By Mitchell Stephens. Viking, 1988. 401 pp. $24.95, Cloth; $9.95, Paper.

VOICES OF A NATION: A HISTORY OF MEDIA IN THE UNITED STATES. By Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter. Macmillan, 1989. 577 pp. $30.50, Cloth.

THE MEDIA IN AMERICA: A HISTORY. Edited by William David Sloan, James B. Stovall, and James D. Startt. Publishing Horizons, 1989. 420 pp. $36.95, Cloth.

book addresses "revolutions that, when examined from a broader perspective, turn out not to have taken place."

Folkerts and Teeter take an approach in *Voices* similar in most respects to that of the Emerys—a chronological exploration of the interaction of media, primarily newspapers, and society from colonial days to the present. The social history approach does include coverage of advertising, public relations, magazines, film, and broadcasting as well. The book is divided into four chronological sections: (1) early America, from the printing revolution to commercial newspapers; (2) expansion and conflict, from the partisan press to the Civil War; (3) modernization and reform, from Reconstruction to World War I; and (4) media in a modern world, from the Roaring Twenties to UPI's problems. It is attractive graphically and is enhanced by introductory essays at the beginning of each chapter and summaries and notes at the end.

The authors tell us in the introduction that "this book addresses the media as a complex societal and cultural institution—a product of many voices. It views these voices within a social, political, and economic framework and considers the impact of owners, audiences, journalists, technology, and government. Within this framework, the voices of blacks, women, immigrants, and other minorities speak convincingly, as do the voices of media corporations that produce metropolitan dailies, mass circulation magazines, and television news and entertainment." The work draws on the most recent scholarship available and seems particularly strong in the areas of the authors' research interests: the eighteenth century revolutionary and federal periods, as well as reform and minority presses of the nineteenth century.

The third book, *Media in America*, is a collection of essays by eighteen authors that, taken together, deal with "all of the major ideas, events, and people who contributed to the history of the media in America." The first of the eighteen chapters, "Communication Before America," begins with the dawn of writing and the last, "The Contemporary Press, 1945–Present," ends with a discussion of the challenges ahead, with thematic chapters in between proceeding in more or less a chronological fashion. While focusing on the media, it also looks at the historical context in which they operated.

The book's introduction says it is a "history of a people and their network, the mass media, that has tied them together. . . . It is the story of the huge central nervous system that has made it possible for the many and diverse parts of America to communicate and mold their relationship with one another." The multi-author approach allows the book to rely on primary source research, and a short annotated bibliography appears at the end of each chapter.

This book more than the others attempts to differentiate itself from other journalism history texts by claiming that it is not an encyclopedia of facts. "The emphasis is not on voluminous details, dates, and names. While such material is used selectively, it is included not because of a sense of obligation to list every American journalist of the slightest importance who ever lived, as media history textbooks have been prone to do, but because the individuals, events and dates selected are outstanding or representative examples that help explain the nature of the media."

Comparing coverage of one issue, event, or individual in each text quickly illustrates some of the differences among the three. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, probably covered in most journalism history classes, seem a good choice for the purposes of this essay.

Stephens devotes about two pages to the acts in his fourth section on newspapers. Chapter 11, "News and Revolution," discusses the American and French revolutions, a free press and "mass circulation and newspaper ownership." He describes the acts and their use against opposition editor Benjamin Franklin Bache and Congressman Matthew Lyon. "Unlike France under

Napoleon," he writes, "the United States turned back from this road."

Voices covers the acts in a five-page section in chapter 5, "A New Nation." The chapter consists of sections on individual partisan editors and their papers, including the Federalists John Fenno and William Cobbett, as well as the Republicans Philip Freneau and Bache; a section on the acts themselves; sections on Jeffersonian newspapers, including the *Intelligencer* and the *Post;* and short segments on the election of 1824 and magazines and their audiences. The discussion of the acts includes more background than does the Stephens book on the reasons why they were passed, the nature of the acts themselves, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, prosecutions under the acts, and their expiration.

The Media covers the acts in two chapters, chapter 4, "Party Press: 1783–1833," by David Sloan, and chapter 5, "Freedom of the Press, 1690–1804," by Margaret Blanchard. Sloan's chapter looks at leaders' use of the press to mold public opinion in this era. It begins by discussing the press as a political instrument and its relation to the first party system, then looks at a good number of individual editors and newspapers, and ends by discussing newspaper content and style, the development of journalistic practices, and the decline of the party press. Within this context, the acts are discussed as they were used against Cobbett, Bache, William Duane, and others. Blanchard's chapter then moves from the British roots of press freedom, beginning with William Caxton and his printing press, through the colonial, revolutionary, and federal periods to the election of Jefferson to the presidency. Her discussion of the acts gets to the political motivations behind their passage and differences between Federalist and Republican interpretations of freedom of the press. Blanchard quotes from the congressional record on the acts to give a sense of what this debate was about.

Each treatment of the Alien and Sedition Acts, then, illustrates some of the strengths and weaknesses of these books from the perspective of the teacher trying to choose among them.

The Media offers the fullest discussion of the meaning of the acts and their relation to politics in America at that time, but because of the multi-author approach, one reads first about practical application of the acts against partisan editors and in a later chapter about the philosophy behind those prosecutions and disagreement as to their acceptability. Ironically, the strength of *The Media*—its multi-author primary source framework—also may be its weakness. While hearing eighteen different voices, each engaged in his or her own research, is appealing, some continuity is lost in that approach. While the depth of the research effort is much appreciated, the editors in the introduction almost seem to overstate the case for the use of primary sources in that text. "Textbooks that use other books and journal articles as their main sources of information always run the risk of giving a distorted picture of history." Distortion in the original research is the real risk. One must be able to trust the historians engaged in the primary research or those like Folkerts and Teeter who, in addition to their own research, rely on analyzing and synthesizing the work of others.

As for the Stephens book, James Startt in an earlier review in *American Journalism* (Summer 1989) commended the book for offering a broad synthesis of time and space and an international perspective, which can be seen in Stephens's relating of the Alien and Sedition Acts to contemporary French thinking. But Startt also criticized the book for lacking a strong contextual framework and for repeatedly jumping about "from place to place and from present to a variety of pasts," as illustrated by the other material contained in the same chapter.

The same criticism could be made of *Voices*, which offers a fuller discussion using the most recent scholarship, but one sandwiched in a chapter with

other concerns that have no strong thematic relationship. While Stephens might overreach at times to sustain his theme, at least he has one: *Voices* and to a lesser extent *The Media* might look more selectively at journalism history than does the Emery book, but they still suffer from grouping material that is unrelated except by chronology. While *The Media* offers a thematic approach within each chapter, some seem to deliver on that promise more than others, and the overall thrust of the book is in line with the basic framework in which the story of journalism history has been told in the past. The same is true of *Voices*.

The primary problem with both these texts is that while working hard to distance themselves from the Emerys, neither is really different enough in at least two respects: overall conceptual framework and lack of thematic approach. Every set of chapters from prospective texts that I have reviewed in the last five years—with one exception—shares these characteristics. Every list of questions forwarded to me by publishers focuses on framework and adequacy of detail. While all of these authors and publishers would love to supplant the Emerys, they flatter them enormously by insisting that prospective texts should be so much the same.

As for the conceptual framework, the central thrusts of the texts remain the same: other stories, while they might be told, seem secondary. David Nord argued in a recent essay, "A Plea for Journalism History" (*Journalism History*, Spring 1988), that "power is not the only proper subject for media history, but it is the most important subject. And to study power, we need more, not less, attention to the historical institutions of mass media, especially journalism." That may be the case, but what then becomes of those who speak in different voices—the powerless, the disenfranchised, those who deviate in significant ways from the great men and their institutions who have been and still are the focus of journalism history? Phyllis Rose has written, "If you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing" (*Writing on Women*, 1985). What is left out of these two texts is an alternative framework that would let the reader see journalism history from a different perspective.

By the same token, the books also are like Emery in that they are somewhat exhaustive in terms of detail at the expense of a meaningful thematic approach. If publishers, authors and teachers of journalism history were not so concerned with detail on every aspect of the subject—preferably in chronological order—perhaps it would free up writers to embrace new approaches, to find overarching themes that make the material meaningful and to drop some detail. After all, no one can include everything anyway, not even the Emerys. Krompac wrote of their new edition: "No history is sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy everyone, and this is no exception." Stephens was faulted for slighting ancient India and the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Every one of us could cite omissions in the other two texts in question here. If we can, therefore, accept the fact that no one can include everything, the next step is to admit that it's a mistake to try.

Even so, my attempt to develop and hone a thematic journalism history course in the belief that less is more has not been easy. In fact, changing perspectives and dropping detail has been difficult—but at the same time a delightful unburdening. After all, I came out of Bud Nelson's graduate history seminar at Wisconsin, in which he said on the first Tuesday, "Read Emery and Emery by Thursday." At the University of Missouri School of Journalism, I taught the venerated History and Principles of Journalism, succeeding William Howard Taft, who had succeeded Frank Luther Mott. Mott spent weeks lecturing on Horace Greeley alone. Those Greeley lectures included Mott's galloping across the stage in the lecture hall as he talked of Greeley driving a wagon west, causing his teaching assistants to

fear for his life. Bill Taft once told me that after Mott retired, he could sense when his successor was about to introduce Greeley in the saga that is journalism history. And he would just show up to lecture. I'm sure those lectures were memorable. Taft certainly never forgot them.

Mott and others' extensive use of minutia did not escape Nord, who pointed out in his essay that traditional journalism history has been trivial: "In the first history of journalism," he wrote, "Frederick Hudson explained that William Cullen Bryant lived to nearly 77 by eating hominy, brown bread, oatmeal and stewed fruit, and working out with light dumbbells," information I feel certain was not lost to Mott's students. Nord later concluded: "Like Frederic Hudson, we cannot neglect William Cullen Bryant, though we may not need to know what he ate for breakfast. We do need to know how he fit into the political intelligentsia of New York, and how his *New York Post* linked that elite to a more general, but still special, reading public." It is not inconceivable to me that a first-rate journalism history course or text might not only ignore Bryant's diet but Bryant himself, depending on its theme.

Having taught journalism history twice almost every semester for the past nine years to both graduate students and undergraduates, most often in a required class that met at 8:40 a.m. three times a week in an auditorium holding three hundred people, I learned early on that a book's capacity to engage those students by offering them relevance, fresh insights and an effective means of not only learning but genuinely enjoying journalism history was important to them and essential to my sanity and survival. I have talked to more than forty-five hundred students about journalism history in those nine years. I'm still waiting for the book.

That is not to take away from the books discussed here, all of which will be used by any number of teachers of journalism history. All are excellent reference books. All are admirable accomplishments. As Shaw wrote of the Emerys: "Talk is cheap. . . . They have written." But while all will be required in certain journalism history classes next fall, the best classes being taught will not be driven by any of these books. Rather professors teaching the best courses will make their own way through some of the material using a theme that will engage their students for two simple reasons: the material is inherently fascinating and the theme they have chosen to use engages the professors themselves.

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WOMEN WAR CORRESPONDENTS OF WORLD WAR II.
By Lilya Wagner.
• Greenwood Press
• 1989, 187 pp.
• $37.95, Cloth

THIS SLENDER VOLUME includes eighteen brief chapters on individual women war correspondents. Here are names missing from books on either World War II or journalism history—Ann Stringer of the United Press; Iris Carpenter of the *Boston Globe*; Ruth Cowan and Bonnie Wiley of the Associated Press; Tania Long Daniell and Sonia Tomara of the *New York Herald-Tribune*; Kathleen McLaughlin and Virginia Lee Warren of the *New York Times*; Lyn Crost of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*; Helen Kirkpatrick of the *Chicago Daily News*; Catherine Coyne of the *Boston Herald*; Alice-Leone Moats and Martha Gelhorn of *Collier's*; Sigrid Schultz of the *Chicago Tribune*; Inez Robb of International News Service; Shelley Mydans, Mary Welsh, and Lael Laird Wertenbaker of *Time-Life*. Examples of the war correspondence of ten of the women accompany the chapters along with eight photographs.

Other women correspondents are mentioned in a concluding chapter. Three appendences list all accredited U.S. women correspondents during World War II—a total of 127. Their news organizations also are listed.

In an opening statement, the author, vice-president for institutional advancement at Union College in Lincoln, Nebraska, outlines difficulties faced in obtaining the names of the women correspondents and locating material about them. Much of the biographical data in the chapters comes from the author's interviews and correspondence with the journalists.

A five-page introduction gives an overview of the correspondents' experiences. They faced discrimination in obtaining accreditation and were limited in their movements in the field. Some complained of being restricted; others thought they had enjoyed special privileges because they were women. Wagner offers only one general conclusion—that women journalists wanted to be "where the big story was," just like the men did, although she notes that a few of the women went to the war scene primarily as wives of men stationed overseas and secondarily as reporters.

For many the war represented the high point of their careers. Of the eighteen profiled, nine left journalism after the war, some to pursue allied occupations and others because of marriage. The significance of their work is revealed by the material presented. For example, the chapter on Lyn Crost details her noteworthy contribution to war reporting. She was the only journalist to cover the actions of U.S. Nisei units (made up of men of Japanese descent born in the United States) in the war. The outspoken quality of many of the women comes through too. Consider Alice-Leone Moats, still working as a journalist (she writes a weekly column for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*). Asked if she capitalized on her good looks during the war, she replied, "You bet I did."

The book includes a few factual errors. Eleanor Roosevelt did not start her woman-only press conferences because Ruth Cowan asked her to, as the chapter on Cowan states. In fact, Eleanor Roosevelt began these conferences years before Cowan arrived in Washington. Much more intensive examination of the role of women correspondents is merited. This volume, however, represents a start. It is an obvious labor of love, and the author should be applauded for her work.

. . . *Maurine Beasley*
University of Maryland

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REVOLUTION IN PRINT: THE PRESS IN FRANCE, 1775–1800.
Edited by Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche.
• University of California Press
• 1989, 351 pp.
• $50, Cloth; $24.95, Paper

SCHOLARS IN communication will find the essays in *Revolution in Print, The Press in France, 1775–1800,* to be interesting and useful. Edited by Robert Darnton of Princeton and Daniel Roche of the University of Paris, the book was sponsored by the New York Public Library as part of its French Bicentennial exhibition. The essays are largely historical, but their diversity—from the prerevolutionary politics of publishing and censorship to the economics of printing to the products of the press, e.g., journals, pamphlets, books, almanacs, prints, songs, and ephemera—suits them to a wide audience.

The first three essays, "Censorship and the Publishing Industry" by Roche, "Philosophy Under Cloak" by Darnton, and "Malesherbes and the Call for a Free Press" byRaymond Birn will interest scholars who study the evolution of press freedom. Roche's article describes the ambiguities of censorship in eighteenth-century France. He weaves a narrative about an increasingly massive state bureaucracy staffed with academics and clerics, who often collaborated with authors, publishers, and guilds. Directed by the contradictory tasks of maintaining the ideology of the absolutist monarchical state and enhancing publishing as commerce, censors found themselves protecting an elitist system that did neither. Then, as now, censorship even stimulated book sales.

"Bad books," including

political and religious treatises as well as pornography, were coded "philosophical" by buyers and sellers. Darnton discusses clandestine forms of communication and barter between philosophical booksellers, methods of concealing banned works and fooling customs agents, smuggling practices, and the range of punishments meted out for offenders. Noting that commerce and government made distinctions between legal and dangerous genres, but not among "philosophical" works, he concludes that liberty and libertinism were inextricably linked.

Birn's article analyzes the memoranda calling for a free press written by Chretien-Guillaume Lamoignon de Malesherbes, the director of the French book trade office from 1750 to 1763. As the director of this censoring body, he was forced to censor books and maintain the privileges of elite Parisian publishers. However, his memoranda reveal that he believed France would prosper by developing a publishing industry based on market principles. He saw that censorship allowed the illicit and foreign presses to unduly influence the growing French public sphere. He believed that if prior restraint were eliminated, the press could be controlled by the judiciary through libel law. His memoranda reveal a complex understanding of French institutions, political power and control, philosophies of the Enlightenment, market forces, and publishing.

Carla Hesse, in "Economic Upheavals in Publishing," goes beyond the usual story of the abolition of royal censorship to assess the cultural revolution that followed. She focuses attention on the freedom of publishing, not only from censors, but from the thirty-six legal publishers of the Paris Book Guild who, after 1789, struggled to maintain their elite status. Many lost their businesses as the literature of the Enlightenment, e.g., Voltaire and Rousseau, replaced the classical, legal, and religious culture of the Old Regime, which had been their charge. Drawing upon letters, memoranda and economic records, Hesse ties the fall of Guild publishers to changes in legal and educational institutions that rendered stocks of Old Regime books useless. Despite vehement protestations, the National Assembly refused to maintain the Guild's exclusive interests: books no longer were reviewed or examined, authors registered and submitted their works to the Bibliotheque Nationale to establish proprietary rights, a work entered the public domain ten years after an author's death, and no measures were established to prevent pirating.

While the elites fell, new printers and booksellers rose: during the revolution their numbers quadrupled and tripled, respectively. Journal, newspaper, and ephemera publishing flourished, but the uncertainties of competition led to a crisis in the expensive genre of book publishing.

Other essays cut a different path to understanding the relationship between the revolution and publishing. Pierre Casselle, in "Printers and Municipal Politics," takes a biographical approach, detailing the rising and falling fortunes of municipal printers who worked at the rapidly changing center of political power.

Phillipe Minard examines the nature of work, wages, hours, technological innovation, labor organizations, and the fall and reconstitution of print craftsmanship in "Agitation in the Work Force." Michel Vernus's "A Provincial Perspective" examines the ideological battle fought through the printed word in the province of Frache-Comte. He details how political ideas were imposed on traditional forms of religion and song. He also notes that, despite the influx of the printed word, the political message spread there mainly via the oral tradition.

Jeremy Popkin's "Journals: The New Face of News," reveals how the ideology of the Enlightenment inflected the development of the ideology of journalism: it would facilitate the rise of popular sovereignty through public debate on a national scale, transmit the public's opinions to elected representatives, and allow lead-

ers to enlighten the public. Popkin quotes journalists to give a sense of the role of the press in the public sphere, "One can teach the same truth at the same moment to millions of men; through the Press, they can discuss it without tumult, decide calmly and give their opinion." Popkin then goes on to show how vehement press partisanship fell short of this ideal, leading not to rational discourse but to contradictions between the ways elected leaders saw themselves and the ways they were portrayed in the press. He concludes that the French revolutionary press should not be seen simply as a historical artifact, but as an example of a central contradiction in the press of all modern states with representative governments.

Pornographic political pamphlets are the subject of Antoine de Baucque's article, "Pamphlets: Libel and Political Mythology." It is a fascinating examination of the recurring themes and literary devices used by revolutionaries to discredit the aristocracy. An "us-them" dichotomy contrasted the healthy practice of revolutionary sex, metaphorically connoting fitness to govern.

Jean Dhombres's "Books: Reshaping Science," shows that scientific books became academically specialized at the end of the eighteenth century. However, due to public interest in science, two new genres of science writing emerged: popular science, which tried but failed to impose itself on academic science writing, and entrance-level university textbooks.

The last four articles—"Almanacs: Revolutionizing a Traditional Genre," by Lise Andries; "Prints: Images of the Bastille," by Rolf Reichardt; "Songs: Mixing Media," by Laura Mason; and "Ephemera: Civic Education through Images," by James Leith—examine how the revolutionaries co-opted traditional media formats to enhance the credibility of their messages. For instance, Andries demonstrates that new political views, notions of time, and Jacobin philosophies of nature were worked into the almanac. The traditional format appealed to the masses, who, since the fifteenth century, had used almanac calendars to predict the weather and follow religious holidays. However, the revolutionaries substituted their political ideology for superstition and religion.

Darnton and Roche, the contributors, the New York Public Library, and the University of California Press are to be commended for this outstanding collection of essays. It will help American scholars draw connections between the American and French revolutions, the philosophies that formed them, and the evolution of press freedom. Its diversity of subjects, data, and methods result in a book that is useful for advanced courses in journalism and publishing history, legal and philosophical studies, visual communication, or historical methodology. It includes a wealth of illustrated materials, with one eight-page color signature.

. . . Robert Craig
University of Minnesota

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NEWS AND POLITICS IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION: JEAN LUZAC'S "GAZETTE DE LEYDE."
By Jeremy D. Popkin.
• Cornell University Press
• 1989, 304 pp.
• $34.50, Cloth

IN RECENT YEARS a number of illuminating studies of aspects of European journalism in the eighteenth century have been published. These include works by Michael Harris and Jeremy Black on the political press in Britain, Gary Marker on the Russian literary intelligentsia, and Jack Censer, Robert Darnton, and Nina Gelbart on the pre-revolutionary press in France. Jeremy D. Popkin's study of the *Gazette de Leyde*, an obscure French-language biweekly newspaper published in the Netherlands between 1677 and 1811, is among the best of these new books. On the face of it Popkin's subject seems narrow and unpromising. Yet he has written a volume that all students of journalism are likely to find interesting.

What lifts Popkin's ac-

count of the *Gazette de Leyde* above the minutiae of eighteenth-century narrative is his use of the paper to illustrate general trends in journalism. According to him, the *Gazette* was an "elite" news journal that typified the best features of European journalism at the time. It was published in a city where commercial and political conditions assured a large degree of freedom from governmental interference. At the same time, it was read extensively in France and elsewhere, by groups of professional people who sought an unvarnished account of the news. The *Gazette* molded public opinion, Popkin asserts, by creating an informational base throughout Western Europe and shaping attitudes that were critical of authority.

Jean Luzac, the editor of the newspaper from 1772 to 1798, emerges in this book as a journalist of integrity. Luzac, who also taught at Leiden University, propounded moderate humanistic values. He set an admirable standard of objectivity for his paper, verifying news sources whenever he could and providing balanced summaries of events. He eschewed the easy route to sensationalism advanced, in Popkin's view, primarily by British journalists. In short, Luzac seems a little like an Ochs-Sulzberger figure in charge of a prototype *International Herald Tribune*.

Popkin maintains that European journalism in the years before the French Revolution confronted a growing divide between news presentation and the shaping of opinion. The *Gazette de Leyde* was affected by this development. It concentrated on news coverage, while trying to shape attitudes towards events. Popkin makes the point that it expanded the boundaries within which pre-1789 European newspapers could effectively combine these two journalistic functions. But such a balanced role could not be maintained indefinitely in an era stirred by revolutionary passions. Predictably, the paper ceased to be an important journal by the end of the century.

On the whole this interpretation is convincing. It provides an analytical framework for the book and serves as a reminder that standards of objectivity existed two centuries ago. Not all journalists were of the pamphleteering type prevalent in London, that is, prepared to sink their integrity in a sea of political passion. But Popkin's theorizing is a heavy burden to place on an admittedly obscure newspaper like the *Gazette*. It also assumes a congruence between elite and "quality" journalism, when in fact popular journalism, coming into its own for the first time in revolutionary Europe, had equally strong claims to "objectivity."

If this volume falters slightly in its conceptualization, it more than compensates for this in its descriptive chapters. These contain brilliant elucidations of practical aspects of eighteenth-century journalism: how newspapers were put together and marketed, how news was collected from the farthest reaches of a vast continent, how an editor like Luzac, who had a minimal interest in the business side of publishing, was able to create a successful product. There are also fascinating sections on readership, production layout, the hiring of correspondents, circulation, and the elusive interaction between politics and the press. All of this is narrated with style and vigor. It helps to make clear the substantial debt owed by modern journalists to their eighteenth-century forebears.

. . . Joel Wiener
New York University and the CUNY Graduate Center

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FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND PARTISAN POLITICS.
By Craig R. Smith.
• University of South Carolina Press
• 1989, 210 pp.
• $28.95, Cloth

AS PRESIDENT OF the Freedom of Expression Foundation and director of the Center for First Amendment Studies at California State University, Long Beach, Professor Smith brings considerable

expertise to his study of political expression. In this volume, one of a series of seven studies in rhetorical communication, Smith examines both historic and modern techniques of political persuasion, emphasizing rhetorical-persuasive processes by which political and social realities are interpreted and created.

Smith begins by tracing the fundamental tension between ideology and pragmatics. Using as examples the persuasive processes that arose from the philosophical confrontations between the Puritans and the Revivalists and later between the Populists and the Social Darwinists, he argues that the balance of political persuasion has tilted historically in favor of the pragmatic majority, composed largely of synthesizers and compromisers. This, in turn, has promoted relative stability in American society.

Moving to political parties, he examines the struggles between three radical groups that proposed to change the American system by challenging freedom of expression for the sake of national security. These positions were opposed by those who held freedom of expression as the supreme social value and legal guarantee. The three controversies are the events surrrounding the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the Reconstruction Acts following the Civil War, and the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 along with the political manuevers of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Among other things, Smith cites the rhetorical disadvantage of radicals having to establish some value above freedom of expression as a major factor in the outcomes of these contests in which the moderate judgments of the majority prevailed.

At this point Smith turns his attention to the present, beginning with an analysis focused on freedom of expression in the broadcast media. Assessing the scarcity rationale underlying broadcast regulation as anachronistic, he argues for applying full rights of the print media to all media of mass communication. Addressing persuasion in presidential political campaigns, Smith advocates the abolishment of Congressional regulations restricting campaign fund-raising activities. Next, he examines what he terms inadvertent and disguised persuasion arising from cinematic and video techniques and editorial decisions by news personnel, concluding the book with a reiteration of his opposition to regulation in resolving the tensions associated with freedom of expression in the contemporary media environment.

Smith has contributed to a scholarly, conservative treatment of his topic. Perhaps lacking in his analysis is the possibility that future American change can emerge from sources outside the status quo (e.g., the two-party system). Nevertheless, Smith's expertise in rhetorical theory and experience as a television network news consultant enable him to integrate in a useful way his discussion of rhetorical strategies with the realities of modern journalistic organizations. Readers with journalism backgrounds will appreciate his first-hand knowledge of television news.

Although the split between the historical and the present might minimize the adoption of this book by teachers of journalism history, the volume is appropriate for courses in freedom of speech and press, especially if a rhetorical and conservative perspective is desired.

. . . Robert M. Ogles
Purdue University

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RADIO WARFARE: OSS AND CIA SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA.
By Lawrence C. Soley.
• Praeger
• 1989, 264 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

SOLEY'S FOLLOWUP to *Clandestine Radio Broadcasting* (1987) is a solidly researched and well-narrated examination of covert radio broadcasting before, during, and just after World War II. The author draws upon recently declassified reports to trace the history of American,

European, and Asian subversive radio transmissions. He provides no startling revelations about the impact of broadcast propaganda, but instead offers a step-by-step reconstruction of the organization and implementation of fifth-column radio infiltration.

We see how American efforts to confuse and demoralize the enemy with radio news and propaganda met variously with French arrogance in Algeria, Chinese Nationalist intransigence in Asia, resistance from Douglas MacArthur in the South Pacific, and transmission difficulties around the Japanese home islands.

Similarly, Soviet clandestine broadcasts suffered from ideological constraints and miscalculation of German soldiers' loyalty to Hitler. Interestingly, a number of ploys were used to overcome some of these hurdles. Americans, for instance, broadcast German soccer match results on the propaganda stations on Sunday nights before the match scores were aired on Nazi-controlled stations. Germans, anxious to hear the results, begin tuning into the clandestine stations. American military positions were misreported to confuse the German populace and Nazi military strategists. These broadcasts occasionally backfired and confused American military officers.

Soley's mixture of biographical references, Office of Strategic Services (OSS) documents, and newspaper articles provides a handsome treasure of sources. Occasionally he relies too heavily on the biography of OSS director William Donovan as well as *New York Times* articles, but, overall, his careful research is the strength of this book.

Radio Warfare is not without its flaws. Its theme is the political, military, and communications strategies that shaped the development of these World War II broadcasts. Yet, for some reason, he begins the book with several pages of loosely constructed references to contemporary clandestine operations and closes in the same way, hardly offering an overview of the main theme.

Soley also struggles to explain the impact of these war broadcasts. He points out that road signs in Germany were altered according to the directions from clandestine news broadcasters and that this was one indication that Germans were listening to the American radio signals. At other times, he flatly states that German soldiers began ignoring German propaganda stations and tuning to American clandestine broadcasts. He also argues that Nazi broadcasts from Stuttgart had a great impact on the French before the fall of Paris in 1940, but does not support his assertion. It is certainly difficult to determine the impact of covert radio operations during wartime, but Soley would have been better off simply acknowledging this and not speculating on what he could not document.

Essentially, though, this is an informative historical piece that explores relatively uncharted history and carefully fits a few more pieces into the World War II puzzle.

. . . Louis W. Liebovich
University of Illinois

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HOME TOWN NEWS: WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE AND THE *EMPORIA GAZETTE.*
By Sally Foreman Griffith.
• Oxford University Press
• 1989, 304 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

SALLY GRIFFITH'S BOOK gives us a valuable study of William Allen White, who serves as a better example of a Progressive than of a small-town newspaperman early in this century.

When White stepped off the train in Emporia, Kansas, in 1895 at age twenty-seven, he brought his skills as a printer, some experience on the Kansas City newspapers, and good political connections. White had borrowed three thousand dollars to buy the *Emporia Gazette*. He was a real small-town editor with advertising and job printing to sell, aging equipment, and large debts. In little over a year, however, his editorial "What's the Matter With Kansas?" had been re-

printed nationally and White had assumed the role of Small-Town Editor and spokesman for a way of life. As Griffith demonstrates, his changing political and social attitudes until his death in 1944 reflected the conflicts and contradictions of the Progressive movement.

Politically, White could be in several places at once, although his more generous moods tended to win out. Originally a Republican booster of small-town capitalism and conformity, he would later support free speech and tolerance in a post-war world dead-set on oppression. He could boost capitalist business and advocate public ownership of utilities at the same time. He favored expanded democracy while harboring resentment for the working class, blacks, immigrants, and anyone who opposed his political stands. A friend of Theodore Roosevelt, he supported the Progressive Party until it failed at the polls. Like other Progressives, his rhetoric of community spirit drew him into support for World War I, and later for Prohibition.

Many of those episodes, so clearly related in Griffith's book, exposed contradictions in Progressivism. Events were moving away from White. Even before World War I, his booster appeals to "buy local" foundered on the rocks of national advertising for brand-name products and mail-order catalogs brought by rural free delivery. Booster pride in local unity became oppression of individual rights during the war. As Robert Wiebe and several other historians have written, small-town life was invaded by outside forces. Griffith describes two public campaigns that symbolized the change in Emporia. The first was a street fair in 1899 that celebrated the self-sufficiency of Emporia. The second was a fund-raising drive after World War I for a YMCA building, a drive orchestrated by a nationally based outsider organization, that symbolized the death of local independence. White headed both campaigns.

White's professional experience was not typical of small-town editors. He wrote for *McClure's* and *Atlantic Monthly*, helped found the *American Magazine* in 1906 with Ida Tarbell and John Phillips, and published his short stories and novels for a national audience. Yet two of Griffith's chapters demonstrate the impact of new technologies and advertising on the real small-town editor. The purchase of a three thousand dollar linotype machine meant that White would stop writing inflamatory editorials. Later, the arrival of a new printing press that used stereotyped mats permitted the invasion of national advertising and diminished the "locals"—news of births, weddings, deaths—that had been the lifeblood of White's newspaper. Like the Commercial Street businesses, his newspaper was swept into the network of national life.

White provides an example of the Progressive mentality that held together both a community and a national political movement. In this book, Griffith has assembled a wealth of detail that leads somewhere. It eventually adds up to meaningful changes in the life of the nation. This is a marvelous cultural history (originally a dissertation that shows the influence of the author's advisors, including Cathy Covert, James Baughman, Elizabeth Eisenstein, Richard Schwarzlose, and Bernard Weisberger, among others). Griffith convincingly demonstrates the need to look at small-town America before making any sweeping generalizations about Progessivism.

. . . *Norman Sims*
University of Massachusetts

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THEODORE DREISER'S "HEARD IN THE CORRIDORS": ARTICLES AND RELATED WRITINGS.
Edited by T.D. Nostwich.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1988, 180 pp.
• $22.95, Cloth

THESE EARLY anecdotal articles for Chicago, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh newspapers, Professor Nostwich writes, have "only slight value as literature," and give very little

promise of the magnitude of Dreiser's future work. That is true, but Nostwich is too modest about the value of this collection. In fact, it gives many hints of the direction of Dreiser's future interests — in the practical world of business, as seen especially in the Frank Copperwood trilogy (*The Financier, The Titan, The Stoic*), in the nature of highly successful entrepreneurs like Copperwood, in realistic fiction, in mysticism and in the rich world of the senses. Where before, these articles of Dreiser's were buried in newspaper files, they are now easily available. From now on, anyone studying the development of Dreiser as man and artist will need to turn at the outset to this valuable work, which makes an excellent supplement to the much larger *Theodore Dreiser: Journalism, Volume One*, also compiled by Nostwich.

The articles represent the anecdotes that Dreiser supposedly heard, when he was a young newspaper reporter, in the corridors of big hotels from various guests. In fact, as Nostwich points out, the "visitors" were frequently fictional, and the anecdotes were urban legends or other tales picked up here and there and assigned a narrator. One of them, Dreiser's own harrowing experience of losing his way in a labyrinthine cave, narrated in his autobiography, *Dawn*, is attributed in a piece for the *Chicago Daily Globe* to one R.L. Jeffery, "stopping at the Wellington," and a few months later, for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, to a Charles Brandon "at the Lindell." Dreiser attributed tales to his famous song-writing brother, Paul Dreiser, without explaining their relationship.

The variety in the tales and in their plausibility is considerable. They include sound advice from a medical person that handling money is a great transmitter of disease (that dollar bill may have been in the stocking of a streetwalker!), to unbelievable tales of being buried alive, to political anecdotes, tales about faithful dogs mourning for their dead masters, and observations on the arts, on the soul-shrinking meanness of poverty, and on the joys of luxury. How many of these tales Dreiser actually heard in the hotels he visited we shall certainly never know, but it doesn't matter, for they clearly came from his avid curiosity about life and his eager questioning of every person he met who he thought could tell him about it. Dreiser's editors must have suspected that he was fabricating at least the sources for these accounts, but clearly they found them so entertaining that they ignored their doubts — and this fact in itself provides another chapter in journalism history.

The startling aspect of these tales is how gracefully written they are. The contrast is often sharp with some of the awkward and elephantine sentences in Dreiser's later writings, which have given him a reputation as a "good bad writer." What remains the same is the descriptive power that Dreiser always had, and the emotional force, the sorrow and the pity, that shines through the writing in such poignant articles as one—used twice, for different newspapers—about family graveyards in rural Indiana fallen into decay because no one is left to care.

Nostwich's introduction admirably puts these articles in context. His "Attribution Notes," in which he explains exactly how he deduced or conjectured Dreiser's probable authorship of each article, are equally good.

. . . Edward A. Nickerson
University of Delaware

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THE WORLDS OF LUCY LARCOM, 1824–1893.
By Shirley Marchalonis.
• University of Georgia Press
• 1989, 336 pp.
• $40, Cloth

SHIRLEY Marchalonis's account is a superbly written, absorbing biography of this prominent nineteenth-century American writer whose poetry (or "verses," as she preferred to call them) and moral essays appeared in magazines and weekly literary newspapers like the *Atlantic* and the *New York Independent* and who

served as an editor of the children's magazine, *Our Young Folks*, in its early years.

Like her contemporary and acquaintance, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lucy Larcom was also not a "typical" nineteenth-century American woman. She refused ultimately to marry, even though she was engaged for several years. She sought every avenue of independent living available and acceptable to her in order to achieve and maintain control over the time she needed to write.

Born in 1824 in Beverly, Massachusetts, Larcom was one of eight daughters and the second youngest of ten children (the oldest two of whom were her half-sisters). One of the many strengths of this biography is its clear picture of the centrality of family relationships and personal friendships to the development of Larcom's character and writing style.

When she was eight years old, Larcom experienced the death of her father, whom she worshipped. Survival required her mother to move the family to Lowell and open a boarding-house. Young Lucy was compelled to work as a mill girl in order to supplement the family income. The eleven years of mill experience, from 1835 to 1846, not only exposed Lucy to the drudgery and cacophony of factory work but also to the intellectual stimulation of lectures and discussions and the chance to write for the *Lowell Offering*, during the most creative stage of the Lowell experiment.

During a six-year stay on the prairies of Illinois from 1846 to 1852, Larcom fulfilled a long-time dream of having a formal education by attending the Monticello Seminary at Godfrey, Illinois. Although engaged at the time to a young man lured by the promise of adventure in California, she resisted what she regarded as an unsettling and frivolous promise of fulfillment in the far West and returned to her home and family in Massachusetts. Part of what she resisted, too, however, was a marriage that she feared would snap shut intellectual adventures and opportunities to write and discuss ideas, which she enjoyed most of all.

The return to Massachusetts began a decade of struggle and success. Larcom taught at Wheaton Female Seminary from 1854 to 1862, and developed a mentoring and deepening friendship with the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, whom she had met in the salon days in Lowell. Four books of her moral essays were published during these years as well as numerous poems. By the early 1860s, she was an accepted member of Boston's literary society, headed by the publisher James Fields (of Ticknor and Fields) and his wife Annie. But Larcom wrestled increasingly with what she saw as the loathsome and boring aspects of "keeping school" (record-keeping, housekeeping, discipline) as opposed to teaching, and the advantages of a secure financial position that limited her time to write versus the risk of leaving Wheaton to devote her time to a writing career.

Larcom's chance to reconcile her need for a literary career with her equally important need to live independently came when she was appointed one of three editors for James Fields's new magazine, *Our Young Folks*, first published in January 1865. As Marchalonis notes, the editorship gave Larcom a "modest but secure niche in the world of letters." It also gave her enough money to live on (fifty dollars a month), in addition to payments for poems and occasional private tutoring. It gave her, too, a style of employment that permitted her to balance the "stir" of city living and the "stillness" of living close to nature in the mountains or at the ocean according to her need—she could, after all, read manuscripts anywhere.

When she became sole editor of the magazine in the fall of 1868 her salary was doubled. Larcom was especially competent with and enjoyed handling the literary aspects of an editor's job (e.g., selecting manuscripts, planning layouts, talking to writers), but she was "nearly hopeless" with the business aspects like budget and deadlines. In later years, as her confidence grew, she

became more interested in such business aspects of her books as advertising, reviews, and the quality of covers and bindings. In 1870 another of the original editors displaced her as editor-in-chief, although she remained associated with the magazine until it was sold to *Scribner's* in 1873.

Another of her professional dreams became a reality in late 1868 when a collection of her poems was published by Fields, Osgood (formerly Ticknor and Fields). Several other collections of her poetry and prose appeared up to the year before she died.

Larcom continued her own writing while working as editor of *Our Young Folks*, earning from twenty-five to forty dollars per published poem in magazines like *Scribner's*—a sign of progress from the early days when she received payment in the form of magazine or newspaper subscriptions or no payment at all. Her trepidations about financial security led her to accept another teaching position in 1873, with disastrous effects on her physical and psychological well-being. She promised never again to accept a teaching job that would confine her and cause her to lose control of her life.

It was a promise she kept chiefly by publishing her work, teaching private classes, and lecturing (which she hated almost as much as teaching) for the duration of her life, even though she could rarely see financial security much more than a few months before her at a time. Over time, she also developed a more professional attitude about asking appropriate payment for her work, thus enabling herself to survive even when her income left her close to the margin.

Marchalonis, an associate professor of English and comparative literature at Pennsylvania State University, Berks Campus, is especially effective in showing the interplay of Larcom's personal, domestic experience and public affairs, particularly her strong abolitionist views, the effects of the Civil War on New Englanders, and her methods of coping with changes in American culture and literary style in the 1880s. For every stage of Larcom's life, Marchalonis provides just enough historical context to show the connections between Larcom's private world and the larger movements of state and nation. In keeping with her expertise, Marchalonis is also effective in analyzing and critically assessing Larcom's poetry. She provides a balanced view of her subject with clear, judicious interpretations of available evidence.

Marchalonis also shows many of the difficulties which even a successful author like Larcom had to endure, as happened in the 1870s when Larcom's old mentor and friend, Whittier, failed even to mention her by name in the preface to a volume of poems for children that they co-edited and for which Larcom had done most of the work.

The importance of Larcom's life for scholars of communications history is indirect. Marchalonis's purpose, of course, is to create a biography of a writer and not to write as a communications historian. She achieves her goal, but in the process leaves some teasing questions for communications historians unanswered. How, for example, did publishers and editors decide payments for writers' contributions? Were women writers, as one incident discussed in the book suggests, consistently disadvantaged in such decisions? Larcom was accused twice of plagiarism when her poems were published—how common were such charges and how serious a legal concern were they for publishers, editors, and authors?

Marchalonis gives us an exceptionally readable and fully documented account of this nineteenth-century writer. For a communications historian, her book provides detail and texture for the larger tapestry of history. And in her able hands what wonderful detail and texture that is! Marchalonis succeeds in another way as well: she rescues for us in the twentieth century the remarkableness of even the most ordinary aspects of this earlier woman who strived against the confinements of her age to find a style of living that would sustain

her independence, help her talents grow, and permit her to share the product of those talents with the wider world.

. . . Terry Hynes
California State University, Fullerton

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RIGHT TIMES, RIGHT PLACES: FORTY YEARS OF JOURNALISM, NOT COUNTING MY PAPER ROUTE.
By Hedley Donovan.
• Holt
• 1989, 461 pp.
• $27.95, Cloth

BOOKS ABOUT TIME Inc. and cofounder Henry Luce have begun to crowd library shelves, but the famed publishing empire has been a powerful force in American journalism and certainly there is room for more good works. Unfortunately, Hedley Donovan's book is not in that category. This is a 450-page seminar on magazine editing and management. Donovan was Luce's successor in 1964 and obviously a peacemaker at Time Inc. He contents himself with recounting in glowing terms nearly all the editing and personnel decisions he made over a long career. Little controversy here. He is still keeping the peace.

Donovan, by his own admission, was probably closer to Luce than any other person at Time Inc. Yet we only get brief glances of the publishing magnate. We learn of Luce's reluctance to fire or replace managing editors, Luce's lukewarm verbal endorsement of Donovan as his successor ("you'll do"), his acceptance of Donovan's criticism of *Time*'s one-sided and sometimes unfair editorial policy, and Luce's lonely private life. But much is left out.

The author criticizes other works about Luce and Time Inc. for failing to capture the color of the man and the organization, but Donovan himself fails miserably here. His narrative glosses over serious personnel matters decided under Luce's administration, such as Whittaker Chambers's service as foreign editor of *Time* and special advisor to Luce in the 1940s, Charles Mohr's resignation as Saigon bureau chief in 1963 because of pro-Diem *Time* articles, and John Hersey's and Theodore White's resignations in 1946 over *Time*'s pro-Nationalist Chinese stance.

Occasionally, Donovan raises questions about the roles of journalists and their editors in society, but he often fails to offer answers. Why, when he was managing editor of *Fortune* in the 1950s, did Donovan allow *Fortune* sources routinely to review articles before publication? This led Donovan to consider quitting in 1956 when a piece on the Eisenhower Administration was changed after White House advisors reviewed the article before publication and complained to Luce about some of the phraseology. Was pre-publication review of articles by sources common among magazines in the 1950s? He muses that maybe sources should not have been allowed previews of manuscripts, but he does not say why he did not stop the practice. Nor does he explain why he allowed staff members to accept junkets from businesses. Why did he allow *Life* to "buy" stories and get the magazine into the mess with Clifford Irving's phony Howard Hughes biography in 1971? All he says is that he didn't want someone else to get it! He barely addresses the topic of women and minorities in journalism or at Time Inc. The exception to this superficiality is an absorbing essay at the end of the book on the American press and the need for journalists to police themselves.

Donovan, a brilliant writer and editor, grew up in Minnesota and was graduated from the University of Minnesota and Oxford University. He glided smoothly from reporter for the *Washington Post*, to writer for *Fortune*, to managing editor of *Fortune*, to editor-in-chief of Time Inc. Surprisingly, he writes most interestingly about his boyhood, his parents, Minnesota, and his Oxford days. He relates touching stories about his mother and father, whom he obviously revered, and about his first

forays into the world beyond Minnesota. But his wife and children are only shadowy figures that flit in and out without much depth.

This imbalance also characterizes the recollections of his professional life. He mentions hundreds of names, but ultimately we learn little about any of these people except that they were brilliant and could edit up a storm.

The book has its moments. The few insights into Luce's life, the chilling episode when the Synanon cult harrassed Donovan and his family in 1977, his dealings with the kooky Howard Hughes, and his revelations about the inner financial workings of Time Inc. are all interesting and enlightening. Overall, though, the book is strangely bereft of historical value and surprisingly uninformative considering that its author occupied a position of such prominence.

. . . Louis Liebovich
University of Illinois

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THE ST. JOSEPHS-BLATT, 1896–1919.
By Steven W. Harmon.
• Peter Lang
• 1989, 200 pp.
• $37.95, Cloth

THE LAST QUARTER of the nineteenth century marked the heyday of German-language journalism in America. The booming population of German immigrants spawned a great diversity of publications, ranging from large general-circulation urban papers to specialized journals oriented to professional fields, social organizations, and religious audiences. One example of this myriad assortment was the *St. Josephs-Blatt*, a German Catholic weekly published by Benedictine monks at Mt. Angel Abbey in Oregon. Begun as a small monthly issued by a Catholic parish, the paper was turned into a weekly and published at the abbey from 1889 to 1952. Like many smaller ethnic publications, it did not try to appeal to all German-Americans, but was aimed at a Catholic audience, avowed a religious mission, and circulated primarily in the western United States. From 1889 to 1929, its editor was the Swiss-born monk Brother Colestin Mueller. Brother Colestin, clearly a man of strong opinions, dominated the editorial pages of the *St. Josephs-Blatt* all through his tenure.

Steven Harmon's study of the *St. Josephs-Blatt* was originally a master's thesis in German literature at Portland State University. In its book form, it retains many of the earmarks and limitations of a master's thesis. Harmon has read through the pages of the paper from 1896 to 1919 and presented excerpts of its editorial comment, usually in large block quotations in the original German and without translation. The analysis of this material is lamentably weak. While making use of a few major secondary works on German-Americans and on the politics of the World War I era, the author fails generally to pursue the subjects raised beyond the pages of the *St. Josephs-Blatt* in other collateral sources. The result is that we learn little of the contexts of these matters, either in regard to the readership of the paper, the significance of the political and diplomatic issues, or the general state of German-American journalism.

The core of the book concentrates on the period of World War I, a troubling time for German-American papers. The course followed by the *St. Josephs-Blatt* was not unlike that of many German-American papers. At the war's outset the paper remained an ardent exponent of German cultural values, and offered its version of a neutral and objective view of the conflict in Europe, presenting press reports from Germany as an antidote to the allegedly British-dominated coverage appearing in English-language newspapers. The editorial columns repeatedly denounced British machinations as the cause of the war. But these positions came back to haunt the newspaper after America's declaration of war in early 1917, and the *Blatt* had to defend itself against accusations of disloyalty. Eventually the paper suspended publication from April 1918 to September 1919.

This suspension is only vaguely dealt with by Harmon; it appears not to have been brought about by governmental action. Remarks in the book's foreword (by Martin Pollard, the archivist of Mt. Angel Abbey) suggest that it was by action of Brother Colestin's abbot, but the affair needs more explanation.

Harmon's book offers one small example from the vast and complex world of German-language journalism in its most flourishing period. It does not see very far beyond the horizons of that one journal and its editor. Many more examples of German journalism await further exploration to deepen our understanding of the most prolific ethnic journalism that America has produced.

. . . *James M. Berquist*
Villanova University

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THE PHOTOGRAPHIC IMPRESSIONISTS OF SPAIN.
By S. Carl King.
• Edwin Mellen Press
• 1989, 289 pp.
• $49.95, Cloth

IT IS CURIOUS that the history of photography has remained so disconnected from the history of media and communications, especially since questions surrounding the nature of photographic depiction are so central to studies of mass media representation and reporting. There are scores of books on the history of photographic technology, perhaps reflecting the traditional oversupply of technical "how-to" manuals, textbooks, pamphlets, and magazines. There is a prominent *art* history of photography, concerned with identifying a progression of elite photographic styles and establishing a pantheon of noteworthy photo artists. But both these approaches have been limited by their lack of attention to the social and institutional contexts of picture production and use, by their neglect of the broadest and most popular terrains of photographic activity, and by a more or less complete disregard for historiographical issues pertaining to the history of photography and communication media.

It is against this background that King's monograph, *The Photographic Impressionists of Spain*, represents a unique approach to media history. Unlike most photo historians he treats photographic aesthetics as historically "local and transitory." For King, strategies of depiction and canons of taste are tied to specific social, economic, and class circumstances and are not the inevitable result of universal aesthetic principles. Thus, his history of photographic pictorialism in Spain is a history of social organization, economic circumstances, technical processes, and class interests. It is a history of amateur photography clubs and societies inhabited by upper- and upper-middle-class gentlemen, and it is in these institutional settings that standards for photographic picture making in Spain were established between 1890 and 1950.

Placing Spanish amateurs within the context of amateur developments throughout Europe and North America, King details the international influences and technical printing processes that contributed to the rise of Spanish pictorialism, a romantic and picturesque approach to the making of "beautiful" pictures. He describes the manner in which small groups of well-positioned gentlemen in the Real Sociedad Fotografica de Madrid and the Agrupacio Fotografica de Catalunya in Barcelona controlled the publication of Spain's leading photographic magazines, administered and judged the nation's most prominent photographic salons and exhibitions, and made pictorialist work the standard of "good" photography in Spain for over fifty years.

The value of King's book for scholars of journalism and communications is twofold. First, it is a case study of the social production of cultural forms, a study that demonstrates the importance of studying the socially orchestrated processes through which media forms of representation are created. Second, it extends beyond a strictly Spanish context because it links up with

similar types of current research in the U.S. and elsewhere. For more than a decade, those dissatisfied with the narrow parameters of photographic history have been calling for "other histories," histories of amateur, professional, commercial, and industrial photography, histories of photo production that examine the *use* of photographic picture making in various industrial and audience contexts. (The history of photojournalism, for instance, is still, for the most part, waiting to be done.) King's book represents one of those "other histories."

The weakness of King's work is that it doesn't go far enough in its attempt to provide an alternative to traditional photo history. In some chapters he still clings to an approach that overemphasizes technical history without revealing the social contexts of technological development. In other chapters he is still too preoccupied with canonizing a select group of individuals and legitimizing pictorialism as a great art form. Throughout the book historiographical issues remain submerged and unexamined. He moves from brief discussions of the "bourgeois nature" of pictorialism and the class-based nature of the values it celebrates, to long-winded biographical descriptions of the "unique and creative" individuals who formed the movement, never addressing the potential contradictions this suggests. He rightly points out the continued dominance of pictorialist aesthetics in salons and exhibitions worldwide. But he fails to even mention the industrial promotion of this aesthetic in the twentieth century, instead persisting in his description of it as an "artistic movement."

It is disappointing that King did not do a better job of situating his subject within a new, broader conception of photographic history. But despite the contradictions and shortcomings, he points us in the right direction for further work. The "other" histories are slowly emerging.

. . . *Michael Griffin*
University of Minnesota

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THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT AND IRISH SOCIETY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY.
By Cliona Murphy.
• Temple University Press
• 1989, 240 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth

IN HER STUDY of the suffrage movement in pre-World War I Ireland, Cliona Murphy provides an insightful, but sadly flawed, survey of the struggle for the vote by Irish women during the early twentieth century. Murphy begins her study with a carefully constructed survey of previous work in the field. In doing so, she not only places her own book in the proper historiographical setting, but also provides the reader with a solid biographical overview of other work about the suffrage movement in Ireland. This first chapter is the best one in the book.

Murphy's study capably presents the variety of effort in the Irish women's suffrage movement as the issues of votes for women and Irish Home Rule became intertwined between 1900 and World War I. Some suffragists supported efforts both to give women the vote and to gain Irish Home Rule, while others emphasized one goal over the other. Because of the difference in emphasis, the Irish suffrage movement was splintered in ways different from similar efforts in Britain. As was true elsewhere, the Irish suffrage movement was predominantly a middle-class movement, but it was never limited to one specific group. Both women of leisure and women trained for professions supported efforts to gain women the right to vote. The primary goal—to gain women the right to vote on the same terms as men—appeared to many of its supporters to be a logical part of the move for Irish Home Rule. Others, however, emphasized the need to gain Home Rule first and then to consider the issue of female suffrage. The disagreement over whether to include votes for women in the move for Home Rule proved to be the issue that kept Irish

suffragists from truly uniting in their efforts to gain the vote. Because of the lack of cohesiveness in the movement, it failed to win suffrage for women before World War I.

Even though the movement failed, Murphy concludes that it still had a major impact on Irish society, for it entered into all areas of Irish life. She considers the impact of the suffragists on Irish society by studying the reactions of the churches, the intellectuals, the general public, and the press. For journalism historians, the reactions of the press are obviously of most interest. Here, however, Ms. Murphy fails to fulfill her goal. According to Murphy, "the Irish press was . . . heterogeneous in its views" of the Irish suffrage movement (122). However, she fails to present much solid evidence to support her contention. She quotes extensively from the suffrage paper, the *Irish Citizen*, and also presents comments from women who felt their cause was not receiving adequate press coverage. However, her study fails to adequately prove any great interest in the suffrage movement by the mainstream Irish press. In a book of over two hundred pages, only four deal directly with the reactions of the press. Although Murphy is clearly familiar with the Irish newspapers of the period, she does very little except quote from them occasionally to support other points she is making. If the desire of the reader is to gain a good understanding of the Irish press and its reaction to the suffrage movement, Murphy's work will not be completely satisfying.

Finally, this book has another serious flaw that weakens its impact. It is badly edited, for it is full of serious grammatical mistakes. Comma splices, incorrect division of words, and lack of needed punctuation detract from the good information presented in the book. Murphy's work is a useful survey of the Irish suffrage movement prior to World War I, but the many mechanical errors weaken its impact.

. . . *Carol Sue Humphrey*
Oklahoma Baptist Univ.

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FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN THE AMERICAN MILITARY—A COMMUNICATION MODELING ANALYSIS.
By Cathy Packer.
• Greenwood
• 1989, 350 pp.
• $47.95, Cloth

RESEARCH INVOLVING communication and law is undergoing a metamorphosis. The roots took hold in Zechariah Chafee's classic examination of freedom of speech in 1920, which has inspired numerous treatises combining case law with First Amendment theory. Vince Blasi's "checking theory," Alexander Meiklejohn's political expression theory, and Harry Kalven Jr.'s notions of common law and tolerance as fundamental First Amendment building blocks come to mind. These theorists were not journalism or communication scholars, but professors of law and philosophy.

By the late 1920s a different type of scholar emerged. Ralph Grosman, head of the journalism department at the University of Colorado, teamed with a lawyer to write what we recognize today as a press law case book. The interest in law as it applied to journalists, and later to broadcasters, advertisers, and public relations counselors, was a natural one for those working in schools of journalism. Many of our current media law texts are written in part or in whole by authors with advanced degrees in communication rather than in law.

Paralleling the rise of social science in journalism schools during the 1960s, researchers began to take an interest in empirically based questions raised by media law themes. The free press *and* fair trial issue and the effects of newsperson's privilege, for example, attracted the attention of communication theory researchers such as Steven Chaffee as well as media law scholars such as David Gordon.

The last decade has brought us to still another distinct branch of research involving communication and law. Scholars are now

examining assumptions about *communication* that appear to be embedded in law. This is no easy task. It requires fine tuning and a careful touch to apply the conceptual tools of the communication researcher to the often rigid definitions and advocacy-based conceptualizations of law.

Cathy Packer, an assistant professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina, who holds a doctorate in mass communication, has attempted such a combination. She provides a careful and detailed analysis of the military legal system and the First Amendment as it applies to speech involving military personnel. Her work is rooted in the recent past, covering rights such as petitioning, association, press, and speech, from 1951 well into the 1980s. Packer finds lineage for current indoctrinations in the social science research and the legal practices of the 1940s.

Her compilation of this often overlooked area is a valuable resource raising important questions about the role of dissent in a democracy. Clearly military restrictions on expression fall outside our normal expectations of constitutional protection. Packer documents the offical and legal rationales. Foreign diplomatic relations must be protected. Strict order, discipline, and obedience must be maintained to insure an efficient military response in armed conflict. Loyalty must be maintained. Yet as Packer points out, any correlation between loyalty and repression of speech, efficiency and prohibited expression, or combat ability and exposure to competing and conflicting ideas is strictly speculative. The communication assumption embedded in law *seems* as though it should be true, but is it? Is the First Amendment antithetical to military performance and national security demands?

The book strays from pure questions of freedom of expression at times into issues more closely related to organizational communication. Packer considers the importance of horizontal and vertical speech patterns traveling between the enlisted ranks and the officer corps. Her material is based on a review of the available literature, most from sociology and psychology. And from this she raises questions based on communication modeling. She constructs a model of military communication and compares it to a traditional communication model. Packer suggests that communication theory challenges the military model of tightly regulated expression.

At the heart of Packer's work is her finding that military and civilian precedent recognize the armed forces as a "separate society" and use that concept as a basic rationale for obfuscating fundamental rights. Neither modeling nor empirical work support that rationale, Packer finds. Her case is built on reviews of modeling, the dichotomy between civilian and military law and the rationales supporting each, constitutional and military precedent, and her identification of current issues.

In the end Packer's thesis is not compelling. Models are simply too weak a tool to effectively mount such a challenge. Models neither fully explain nor predict. But Packer knows this and claims only to raise the issue. Perhaps more important are the questions inherent in Packer's attempt. If we cannot apply communication research and theory directly to law, how can we best study areas in which communication and law indeed intersect? Where are the disciplinary boundaries between organizational communication, freedom of expression, and law? Packer encourages us to challenge the too easily accepted wisdom that free expression in the military is at best inefficient and at worst dangerous. The intuitive answer, she protests, just may be wrong.

The conceptual road map we need to answer Packer's questions, and others challenging normative assumptions about communication, lies within the research area we are now calling *communication and law*. Here we can experiment with the interdisciplinary tools from communication and from law necessary to chart a useful course. Packer has set her ship afloat on just these waters.

The course is not yet clear, but at least the voyage has begun and Packer's log is most useful for the assumptions she challenges.

. . . Jeremy Cohen
Stanford University

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THE FIRST AMENDMENT—THE CHALLENGE OF NEW TECHNOLOGY.
Edited by Sig Mickelson and Elena Teran.
• Praeger
• 1989, 250 pp.
• $35.95, Cloth

IN HIS TELLING final remark at a conference addressing how the law of freedom of expression fits in the development of new communication technologies, senior FCC commissioner James Quello confessed that "the potential application of the First Amendment to advanced communications is mind-boggling. Unfortunately, so are the solutions to the problems." As one of only two policy-makers among nineteen participants in the 1987 "First Amendment—Third Century Conference" whose presentations are published in this book, Quello and his perplexity seem unfortunately yet accurately to reflect the present role of the First Amendment in policies affecting the emerging media.

Three approaches to the intersections between the libertarian traditions of freedom of expression and the continued expansions in communication technologies seem to emerge from the presentations and panel exchanges reported in the book. First, a safari of constitutional lawyers and scholars is hunting for First Amendment trophies in the silicon jungle. No byte, datum, or downlink is safe from the safari's litigious predilections. The lawyers advocate assigning all of the new media to their appropriate booths in the marketplace of ideas, a delicate and difficult task that could take decades, cost millions of dollars in attornies' fees, and consume an equal number of pages in law reviews.

Second, a pillbox of industrial protectionists, who in previous decades were in league with the safari to the extent that together they could maximize government benevolence and minimize its regulatory tendencies, is scaling a new slope (to mix metaphors) it would rather not make slippery by the politics of administrative oversight and the vagaries of appellate court judicature. As part of the military-industrial-scientific complex, the pillbox would prefer virtual common carrier status (so as to protect profits and enjoy monopoly) to the purgatories to which broadcast and cable entities say they have been banished with their semi-regulated statuses.

Finally, a coffeehouse of progressive critics somehow has survived from its heyday of the first part of the century when they gave inspiration to the Radio Act of 1927 as well as other mechanisms for affirmation of the public interest in industrial policy-making. Although the agencies have, at worst, been controlled by the industries and, at best, like Quello, sat by perplexed, the coffeehouse continues to remind the safari that more is at stake than the First Amendment interests of the industrial litigants and to remind the pillbox that more is at stake than the profits of the industrial shareholders.

The three approaches are adequately represented in the book, one in an excellent series of volumes on public policy issues published by Praeger over the last few decades. The cast is impressive, including First Amendment experts Daniel L. Brenner, communication law director at UCLA, and Richard M. Schmidt Jr., general counsel for the American Society of Newspaper Editors; media leaders David Laventhol, president of Times Mirror Co., and J. Richard Munro, then head of Time, Inc.; policy-makers Quello and Rep. Al Swift; and public interest advocate Henry Geller, director of the Center for Public Policy Research.

Use of the book for teaching or research purposes is limited because the presentations lack documentation, but probably for the same reason the advocacy of positions is less restrained than they would be in a research context. The result is a book laced

with hypotheses, some of which are ripe for research. Although few speakers failed to acknowledge the significance of historical lessons in resolving futuristic as well as current problems, the potent myths of the Zenger case, the Stamp Act, the framing of the First Amendment, and *Near v. Minnesota*, among other "lessons," inspire much of this discussion.

. . . Thomas A. Schwartz
Ohio State University

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THE RELIGIOUS PRESS IN BRITAIN, 1760–1900.
By Josef L. Altholz.
• Greenwood
• 1989, 200 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

EVERY FEW DECADES there is a new recognition that religion, however it is defined, plays a central role in the development and movement of society and culture. And every few decades somebody recognizes that, in retrospect, religion was there all along, percolating ideas, essays, arguments, and politics.

Students of Victorian literature and history, of course, have always known this. Now journalism historians can share this view from Josef Altholz's perch, and take a closer look at the role of the religious press in Britain during the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries.

Altholz, a professor of history at the University of Minnesota, is a specialist in Victorian religious history. Here he turns his considerable talents and acumen to the question of religious discourse through the press in the then still very United Kingdom of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, shying only from the religious-political discourse of Ireland by admitting that there religion and politics were truly inseparable.

This catalogue discussion of the religious press begins with a general essay on the scope of the study, helping us set the pattern of the book in mind while recalling for us the centrality of the religious press in people's lives. It really should go without saying that the religious press touches more people more deeply than even the most celebrated of the secular press, especially in the pre-electronic era of Victorian Britain. But because it is routinely dismissed as dealing "only" with religious matters, it is not always seen as a serious contributor to the ways in which society works. But even editors of religious periodicals get hanged every once in a while (as Dr. William Dodd, chaplain to the king and editor of the *Christian's Magazine*, learned only too late), and so Altholz's detailed discussions do grab one's attention.

The press he sees as most active between 1760 and 1900 is mostly Anglican, and internal high versus low church arguments abound within it. Of course there are chapters on the Presbyterians and Catholics, along with one chapter each on the free-thinkers and that comforting group, the "others." The study weaves the history of the period effectively but not overbearingly with the original history of the religious press, so that the context of the press's contribution is consistently apparent.

Copious notes are complemented by a well-selected bibliography and a comprehensive index of the religious periodicals of the period. As Altholz points out, the index of titles mentioned in the text includes, at least, all of the religious periodicals of import in Victorian Britain, and then some.

This signal work is a necessary resource for the bookshelf of Victorian specialists and deserves as well to be recognized as a serious contribution to the development of journalism history.

. . . Phyllis Zagano
Boston University

●

THE DIALECTIC IN JOURNALISM.
By John C. Merrill.
• Louisiana State University Press
• 1989, 280 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

OBJECTIVITY AND subjectivity, freedom and control, reality and illusion:

journalism long has seemed torn between the pull of powerful poles. Resolution of the tension between the poles, the quest really for the proper role of journalism in social life, has continued to evade the social sciences. It has become evident that some part of the quest must lead down the road of ethics, responsibility—in short, philosophy.

This perspective lies at the heart of the most recent book by John Merrill. A professor emeritus of journalism at the University of Missouri who has taught most recently at Louisiana State, Merrill has been over this ground before. Through more than thirty years and twenty books, he has drawn insights from the mix and clash of journalism and philosophy.

Merrill is a serious student of his fields. No popular philosophy here, no quick case studies of newsroom ethics.

His book is divided into two parts. In the first part, Merrill discusses the essential notion of the dialectic. He writes with disarming clarity. The dialectic is simply "the principle of contradiction. Everything tends to clash and merge with its opposite. Development is everywhere. And the development proceeds by the dialectical process." He goes on to trace the roots of the dialectic through Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Hegel, and Nietzsche.

In the second part, Merrill applies the notion of dialectic to the tension between freedom and control in journalism. He opposes the thesis of freedom with the antitheses of social control. He looks for a synthesis in a global definition of journalism ethics based on sense of duty (deontology) and concern for consequences (teleology). A "deontelic ethics" encourages journalists to find their own middle ground between blind adherence to principle and the allure of expediency.

Merrill finds further possibilities for the dialectic throughout journalism. He argues against those who would take an either-or approach to central concerns, such as objectivity-subjectivity and authoritarian-libertarian systems. He affirms that the dialectic is consistent with pluralism, the clash of ideas in the marketplace, the ever changing but ever familiar world of the news.

As Merrill notes, this book rethinks the controversial stance of *The Imperative of Freedom*, which he published in 1974. He acknowledges that the early book's heavy libertarian thrust appeared to slight ethics and responsibility in favor of press freedom. "Although," he says, "this 'weakness' of the earlier volume was, I think, exaggerated, I have tried in the present work to right this real (or perceived) wrong."

He is true to his word. There are some wonderfully engaging paragraphs in which Merrill acknowledges "the sterility of my earlier conviction that it was proper for the press to have power (freedom) without concomitant obligations to the people." He admits, "At one time American-style press freedom in its extreme manifestation ('The people be damned; *I* am the editor!') had a great appeal for me." He writes, "For years I took such positions. I thought that by taking stands I was being courageous, when often I was being foolhardy. I saw my convictions as necessary, when in fact,they were often no more than biased sophistry. I saw my iconoclasm as helpful, when often it was simply confusing and debilitating."

Such honesty and insight strengthen the book. And though he frets that his new, dialectical self might suffer from lack of vigor and emphasis, those who have witnessed Merrill lumber and growl like an old bear through a journalism conference must agree that vigor and emphasis are the least of his worries.

There is plenty here for a journalism historian to absorb. Within his argument, Merrill provides a history of thinking about press freedom, weaving Milton and Locke with Lippmann, the Hutchins Commission, and *Four Theories of the Press*. More broadly, he offers an acceptance of paradox, an embrace of contradiction within journalism that rings true to the careful historian. And finally, Merrill illustrates the subtle value of the dialectic for historical study and

points the way to continued, thoughtful explorations of the philosophy of journalism.

. . . Jack Lule
University of Tulsa

●

RED NOVEMBER, BLACK NOVEMBER: CULTURE AND COMMUNITY IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.
By Salvatore Salerno.
• State University of New York Press
• 1989, 160 pp.
• $34.50, Cloth

THE INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World (IWW) is certainly one of the most studied of the generally overlooked and understudied American radical Left. But, says Salvatore Salerno, a Metropolitan State University professor, scholars have not yet done it justice. *Red November, Black November* is an attempt to expand historians' understanding of the IWW not just as a political force but as a social movement emerging from a diverse cultural context.

Salerno convincingly criticizes other scholars for basing their interpretations of the IWW almost solely on the group's official actions and events. Approached from this perspective, the IWW appears more homogeneous and more purely American than it really was, maintains Salerno. Previous historians have missed or severely underestimated the contributions of rank-and-file activists, particularly immigrant activists who carried European traditions of revolutionary unionism into the American labor movement.

It is these European influences, especially French syndicalism, that most interest Salerno. The bulk of his study is concerned with identifying the diversity of political and cultural ideas that informed the IWW. The emerging picture is of a complex social movement: pluralistic, heterogeneous, and rich in European tradition.

After the author establishes (and somewhat belabors) this point, he moves on to a discussion that should be of some interest to press historians: the significance of Wobblie art forms as vehicles for revolutionary consciousness. Foremost among these art forms are political cartoons published in IWW newspapers and tracts (but mostly in the *Industrial Worker*), twenty-seven of which are reproduced throughout the book. He also discusses Wobblie poems and songs.

Salerno's method is to sketch in the historical moment—a strike, a free speech fight, for example—and then discuss how the cartoons, poems, and songs expressed the true pluralistic nature of the IWW at that moment. He sees this art as a means of both disseminating political ideas and creating a workers' culture, and finds in it many direct links to European radicalism. He concludes that Wobblie art and cultural forms challenged the definition of American life imposed by government and business elites while helping to shape a dynamic conception of workers' culture.

For its targeted and rather detailed reading of the cartoons, poems, and songs as cultural political texts, this book has something to say to historians of the press. For its general "bottom up" approach that focuses on rank-and-file intellectuals and immigrant artists, the book certainly reinforces the benefits of such social history. But, unfortunately for the press historian, the author's protracted criticisms of other scholars' work and his extended discussions of French syndicalism take up most of this slim volume.

. . . Lauren Kessler
University of Oregon

●

TEENAGERS AND TEENPICS: THE JUVENILIZATION OF AMERICAN MOVIES IN THE 1950S.
By Thomas Doherty.
• Unwin Hyman
• 1988, 275 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth; $12.95, Paper

DOHERTY'S BOOK IS a well-written account of a colorful era of film history—the age of *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* and *Attack of the 50 Foot Woman, Hot Rod Rumble* and *Teen-*

age Wolfpack. In short, this was the advent of what he calls the "teenpic."

Doherty begins his discussion of the 1950s teenpic by placing the phenomenon within its historical context, demonstrating that its development during the fifties was an economically-motivated response to demographic changes in the composition of American movie audiences. "Hollywood's platonic ideal" of entire families attending the movies together represented an era that was rapidly coming to a close, largely because of "Hollywood's nemesis": television. The movie industry, according to the author, actively began to court the teenage audience as a specific, exploitable group by the mid-1950s, and the teenpic was a recognizable staple of the industry by around 1960.

The author sees the teenpic as a subcategory of the "exploitation" film. He explains that the fifties exploitation film commonly exhibited three characteristics: (1) Because the film's subject matter was "controversial, bizarre, or timely," it was amenable to "wild promotion," (2) the budget was "substandard," and (3) its audience was teenaged. The teenpic is, according to Doherty, a historical derivative of the exploitation film tradition that dates at least as far back as the 1930s. In presenting requisite background information regarding the exploitation film, Doherty gives us a clear, enlightening, and entertainingly written analysis of the motion picture industry in general, and in particular the general state of the industry after the advent of significant competition from television broadcasting. Much of this historical background information will be immediately relevant to studies of genres other than that of the teenpic, and will be of interest to students of the motion picture industry in general.

Analysis of the teenpic genre itself recognizes several different subforms of the teenpic: "rock 'n' roll teenpics"; films concerned with juvenile crime, or "dangerous youth"; "horror teenpics"; and an enigmatic category the author refers to as "the clean teenpics." This latter label is applied to those films that were produced as a result of a cultural backlash directed against the "violence, vice, and rock 'n' roll-ridden films" usually associated with the teenpic. These included such films as *Bernardine*, *Shaggy Dog*, *Tammy and the Bachelor*, and *April Love*.

Teenagers and Teenpics makes a cogent argument for the acceptance of the teenpic as a distinctive genre that is worthy of study, while offering a clear taxonomic structure for analytical study of the teenpic by future scholars.

. . . Steven Phipps
Indiana-Purdue University at Fort Wayne

●

WESTERN IMAGES OF CHINA.
By Colin Mackerras.
• Oxford University Press
• 1989, 368 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

AN AUSTRALIAN professor of modern Asian studies describes the ways in which Westerners have perceived China by examining significant accounts from history, literature, and the media and judging the effects the power relations of the day have had on Western views.

The first two parts of his book deal with Western images of China's present during the period prior to 1949, and with Western images of China's past during the same period. The third section describes and evaluates Western images of the People's Republic of China. There are extensive notes and bibliography.

Mackerras poses Michel Foucault's "power/knowledge" concept as a guide to his study, and concludes that the dominant images of most periods have tended to be in accord with, rather than oppose, the interests of the main Western authorities or governments of the day. His major example, of course, was the dramatic shift in American attitude toward the People's Republic in the wake of President Nixon's 1972 visit to a country subjected to a bitter anti-China policy since 1950.

The study finds the low point of Western images of

China to be in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mackerras judges images to be mainly favorable since 1976, but finds academics and journalists in the late 1980s to be more skeptical of the People's Republic than the popular outlook. The shock of the June 1989 events in Tiananmen Square confirms his judgment.

. . . Edwin Emery (ret.)
University of Minnesota

●

KILLING THE MESSENGER: 100 YEARS OF MEDIA CRITICISM.
Edited by Tom Goldstein.
• Columbia University Press
• 1989, 272 pp.
• $38, Cloth

THE EDITOR'S AIM in assembling the pieces for *Killing the Messenger* was to "bring to a wider audience some often neglected pieces of seminal thnking about the press." To that end he has chosen contributions from fifteen U.S. critics, men whose credentials for assessing press performance range from those of Spiro Agnew to those of Louis Brandeis. The earlier years of the period are emphasized in the collection, in order to make visible contributions that the editor believes are less accessible and less visible than they deserve to be.

Section 1, on "reporting on public and private matters," presents works by Louis Brandeis and Samuel Warren, William Allen White, and George Seldes. Section 2, covering journalists and their biases, includes work of Theodore Roosevelt on muckraking, Spiro Agnew's speeches on media bias, Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz's critique of the *New York Times*'s coverage of the Russian Revolution, and Clifton Daniel's account of the same newspaper's coverage of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Represented in "The Power and Limitations of the Press" are Will Irwin, Upton Sinclair, Carl Ackerman, and Robert Maynard Hutchins. Regarding the task of improving reporting, the volume includes Joseph Pulitzer's views on the need for journalism education and the examination of the media and news about minorities prepared by the Commission on Civil Disorders. Finally, under "news and reality" are the contributions of Frederick Lewis Allen and John Hersey.

The editor's desire to bring to current scholars and journalists a heritage of earlier criticism undoubtedly will be fulfilled. While such selections as those from the commissions on freedom of the press and on civil disorders are readily available, others are less visible and accessible.

Fortunately, the selections are more closely focussed than the title suggests. The material is limited to criticism of the news media, principally daily newspapers. The subtitle misleadingly suggests that "media criticism," a broader subject, is the topic. One also can quarrel with the main title, *Killing the Messenger*. The critics whose works are included do not, in fact, concentrate on blaming newspapers for the conditions on which they report but rather criticize journalistic practices and performances.

These quarrels aside, many readers will be grateful for an introduction to such thinkers as Seldes, Irwin, and Sinclair and for the opportunity to examine the fascinating study of the *Times*'s reporting on the Russian Revolution by Lippmann and Merz.

Regrettably, the collection does not give any suggestion that a rich critical literature has been produced by female critics of the news media. Gaye Tuchman's writing on symbolic annihilation of women by the mass media would have made a powerful contribution to the section on journalists and their biases.

. . . Jean Ward
University of Minnesota

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Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussions of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, or suggestions for future research. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism*, or to propose a book for review, should contact Professor Nancy Roberts, Book Review Editor, *American Journalism*, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

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FROM THE EDITOR •

WHEN THIS JOURNAL began several years ago, it took *American Journalism* as its title, in a deliberate echo of Frank Luther Mott's famous history. But the study of even *American* journalism now often begins with a turn to the international. Both articles in this issue illustrate the consequences of that turn.

Donald Godfrey's study of the first radio news roundup reminds us that international warfare has always won journalism's undivided attention. War continues to be perhaps the archetypal news story, the compelling event that ultimately justifies journalists' sense of hurry. But increasingly journalists turn to the world whether in war or peace. They find themselves able to chart major economic or political stories only with the help of global coordinates.

Dean Rapp's study of British press reaction to the Scopes trial reminds us of a second sense in which American journalism can be considered international. Its daily chronicle of life in the United States offers up "America" as an object of worldwide contemplation and debate. Even the simplest news story may tell a moral tale about the character and direction of American life.

That life, it seems, still means a great deal to the rest of the world. Sometimes, as in Rapp's instance, the story of "America" forebodes a dark future: a debased mass culture washes over the world, or computerized weapons (with a great show of devoutness and sincerity) set the world ablaze. At other times, however, the talk about "America" reminds us of a promise, a vow to repudiate all ancient blood feuds, a pledge to open our hands and start anew.

Journalism carries stories about America to the world. But it is itself also a character in those stories. To the extent that journalism plays both roles with honor, it earns for America the world's respect as well as its curiosity.

– J.P.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN PRESS CONFLICT: THE *TITANIC* DISASTER

THE CONFUSED AND inaccurate reporting on the *Titanic* disaster in mid-April 1912, in the British daily press, became a matter of serious concern to some British editors and journalists. To some, such as the veteran London newsman Charles T. Bateman, the *Titanic* tragedy offered "a notable example" of the manner in which news often reached the British press from American sources and was received and processed by the various editorial staffs in London.

Bateman first voiced his criticisms in an article on "The Daily Papers and the 'Titanic' Disaster," published in the London weekly trade paper the *Newspaper Owner* on 20 April, five days after the sinking of the *Titanic*. Bateman asserted that the fate of the *Titanic* was another example of how the daily press and the news agencies are "unwisely served by their regular American and Canadian correspondents." Indeed, beginning with the premise that "Neither the American nor the Canadian journalists who contribute to the British dailies or news agencies are to be congratulated on their earlier messages" on the fate of the *Titanic*, Bateman examined their "faulty" reports.

The most serious were the reports to British papers from their New York correspondents that all passengers on the *Titanic* were transferred to the *Parisian*, the first ship to reach the scene, and that the *Titanic* was taken in tow by the *Virginian*. When the *Times* of London queried the source of these reports, it found that they were based on intelligence from the Central News Agency. The agency, in turn, had obtained its news from reports published in New York evening papers and allegedly based on information derived from the White Star Line, the owners of the *Titanic*. Bateman used this item to emphasize "the peril of printing cables that are largely inspired by the New York evening papers" and the "foolishness" of British correspondents in cabling "the merest gossip or surmise as bed-rock facts." He blamed the managers of the White Star Line in the United States and Britain for not telling the press all that they knew of what had happened to the *Titanic*, as well as the newsmen "dupes," who failed to exercise "scrupulous care" in verifying what they had been told. He also charged that the correspondents and reporters seemed interested only in securing and relaying "spicy copy" for their editors.

Worse yet, on "close inspection," Bateman found that all too many of the articles published on the *Titanic* were "rehashed from those published a few days previously when the *Titanic* first sailed from Southhampton" on 10 April. The result was that the readers were constrained "to wander aimlessly through a mass of confusing reports and rumours instead of preparing for them a connected account based on intelligence that may be described as 'official' and discriminating between that and other statements that come to hand." It is incumbent, said Bateman, that "All correspondents should have instructions to state the precise source of their information at times of great sensation, and [that] the reports . . . should begin: . . . 'Our New York correspondent gathers from the New York papers'—and the narrative should be printed with this reserve."

Bateman also noted that the early deadline adopted by many newspaper managers (so that their papers would reach distant parts of the nation in time to be read at breakfast) explained why some dailies were "outdistanced" by competitors who had rendered news of the *Titanic*

on Wednesday morning (17 April). Thus people in Oxford read in their papers on Tuesday morning (16 April) that all of the *Titanic* passengers were safe, only to find when arriving in, say, Leeds that those living further away had already learned that almost all passengers had been lost at sea.

In order to understand the manner in which the morning press dealt with the news of the loss of the *Titanic*, Bateman examined all of the major London dailies. He found that they varied widely in the timing, detail, and source of their coverage of the tragedy.

In the same issue of the *Newspaper Owner* (20 April), another journalist, writing over the initials "E.C.S.," rendered an account of "The 'Titanic' Disaster. How the News Came Through." E.C.S. described what had occurred as a classic "stop-press" sensation, mainly because the morning papers "locked up the formes" of their Tuesday (16 April) issue, confident that the liner was being towed to Halifax. There was, said E.C.S., "a keen sense of relief" in the newsrooms that there was no loss of life in this "unsinkable" ship. But no sooner had the presses done their work when "this optimism was destroyed" and "first editions were thrown out of date as completely as the evening papers of the previous night." However, the papers going to press later than some of their contemporaries were able to "save themselves" by providing a more accurate account of what had happened to the *Titanic*.

E.C.S. praised Reuters News Agency for the prompt and efficient service it rendered in sending the first message at 12:45 a.m. on Tuesday that the *Titanic* had gone down at 2:20 a.m. on Monday. At first, some of the papers were skeptical of the information from Reuters and contended, in view of the news of the *Titanic*'s movements published in the evening papers on Monday (15 April), that the time for the sinking of the ship should have been listed as 2:20 *p.m.* But these doubts vanished as soon as the Reuters dispatch was confirmed by intelligence from other sources. There then followed "a quick succession of messages," coming mostly from New York, based on communications from the ships that had come to the aid of the *Titanic*. At this point, noted E.C.S., "the difference in time has to be taken into account when calculating the hour at which the true dimensions of the disaster were made known in this country."

The cables were in constant use between one and three a.m. on Tuesday and almost every message seemed to be so much "old meat" to the editors. Yet E.C.S. was convinced that there was no "embroidery" of the news and that none of the information, "cabled at high pressure," was disproved by later intelligence on the fate of the *Titanic*. And, according to E.C.S., "They represented . . . all the news obtainable then and for many hours afterwards." What also helped was the courtesy and cooperation of the White Star Line office in immediately communicating, even before seven a.m. on Tuesday, whatever "scrap of information" the White Star management had available on what had happened to its great liner, and inviting the press to ring their office as often as they liked.

A week later, on 27 April, the journalist "M" wrote about "The Titanic Story" in the regular "Newspaper and the News" column of the *Newspaper Owner*. "M" generally supported E.C.S.'s point of view and indirectly challenged Bateman's assertions. "M" declared that "Never in British history . . . have newspapers been called upon to give their readers such a thrilling story as that of the sinking of the Titanic, . . . awful in its detail but raised to the height of grandeur by its stories of simple duty and noble devotion." "M" also noted that much had been written of "the many false stories" during the earlier part of the week and that the press had been condemned by many for its role in publishing those earlier untruths. "Arm chair criticism is easy," said "M," by those who insist that all news should be verified by editors before

publication, but what more could an editor do than what was done? Editors have no choice but to accept in good faith the news coming through recognized news agencies and from accredited overseas correspondents.

If blame must be apportioned for the earlier grossly misleading dispatches on the fate of the *Titanic*, argued "M," on the basis of "all evidence . . . now available it is fairly conclusive that the fault lay not with the British press but with the American correspondents. Never so safe and cautious as their English brethren, they were perhaps even more rash upon this occasion; and as the news published over here was necessarily almost exclusively received from the other side, our papers—and their readers—have experienced a week or so of American journalism. Some of the inaccuracies are explainable . . . but there remains much for the American press to account for."

Therefore, as far as the British press is concerned, said "M," "the hasty judgements passed upon it must be reversed." In fact, "With such a multiplicity of conflicting messages arriving almost simultaneously, and with no available means of verifying them, . . . the position was unique. . . . But of the treatment of the news as it arrived there can only be one fair conclusion . . . [t]he British press did its utmost in unfavourable and unprecedented circumstances."

On 18 May, Bateman dealt with the misleading dispatches in his article, "The False Titanic Messages. Is London or New York Responsible?" It is, he declared, "For the honour of the British press" that the source of the "false messages" which "completely deceived everyone" must be discerned. According to the testimony of the general manager of Associated Press of America, Melville E. Stone, to the United States Senate inquiry on the *Titanic* disaster, the American press held the London newspapers responsible for the erroneous reports. Stone specifically blamed the *Montreal Star* primarily, and the Exchange Telegraph Company secondarily, for informing the London press and the Associated Press office in London that all of the *Titanic*'s passengers had been rescued and were en route to Halifax.

The managing director of the Exchange Telegraph Company, Wilfred King, immediately refuted Stone's charges by showing that the two messages sent by the Exchange Company on 15 April, concerning the evacuation to Halifax and the safety of all *Titanic* passengers, had originated in New York. Examining what five major London evening newspapers had published on 15 April, Bateman found that all except one—the *Evening News* (which had relied on news from Halifax) —had received from New York information that all passengers were safely evacuated from the *Titanic*. Unfortunately, said Bateman, the published dispatches gave the impression that the Exchange Telegraph Company had received its information from Halifax instead of New York. Apparently, the London bureau of the Associated Press had immediately cabled the message, as printed in the *Evening News*, to New York as news received from the Halifax correspondent of the Exchange Telegraph Company! To Bateman, such transmission was "a strange procedure," especially since the Associated Press bureau in London probably had the Exchange Company's cable machine in its office.

On the other hand, Melville Stone accused the British news agencies of supplying "false news" while his own agency, from the English side, cabled back to New York information that had a short time before come from the United States. Indeed, the Associated Press bureau in London insisted that the messages in question were cabled to Britain from Halifax "by the representatives of the British news agencies" and subsequently published in almost all of the London dailies. The *Westminster Gazette* immediately assured Bateman that it had *not* received any messages from Halifax on the rescue of the *Titanic*'s passengers, and that the only commu-

nication it had received about the *Titanic* came from New York. For Bateman here was "irrefutable" evidence that the London bureau of the Associated Press had "sent back to New York news that had come from that centre, in a form that was inaccurate and unwarrantable." Thus the Exchange Telegraph Company was not to blame for the misleading messages, but the London bureau of the Associated Press. Bateman added that, as the Exchange Telegraph Company readily admitted, the news it had received from New York was obtained from reports in the New York press and "elsewhere."

Bateman's article terminated the discussion and firmly placed the blame for the grossly wrong information on the fate of the *Titanic*, its passengers, and crew on the American news media. However, it is interesting to note that he dropped his criticism of the alleged "tendency" of British correspondents to communicate, and their editors to publish, *unverified* news reports and his insistence that foreign correspondents should identify the source of their information.

But perhaps more significant is the fact that this controversy on the reporting of the *Titanic* disaster revealed the London press's low opinion of the practices and veracity of American journalism and journalists. It also sheds some light on the state of Anglo-American press relations, which in many ways had not been good since the emergence of the "New Journalism" in Britain during the 1880s and its more sensational offspring in Northcliffe's daily journalism at the turn of the nineteenth century. Much of the sensationalism and excess of the "New Journalism" in Britain was attributed to its emulation of American press practices and popular journalism. In any event, this controversy on the reporting of the *Titanic* tragedy emphasizes the need for greater research and study of Anglo-American press relationships since the nineteenth century.

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"SUCH THINGS CAN ONLY HAPPEN IN AMERICA": BRITISH PRESS RESPONSE TO THE SCOPES TRIAL

In Americans' Debates over Evolution, the British Foresee the Rise of Mass Culture

Dean Rapp

IN JULY 1925, WHILE JOHN SCOPES was being tried in Dayton for having violated a Tennessee law prohibiting the teaching of human evolution in the state's schools, it was often remarked that not only America but the whole world was fascinated by the proceedings.[1] This was certainly true of Britain, where the London newspapers, which circulated nationally, provided extensive trial coverage that was in turn commented upon by a wide variety of other periodicals. Of course the interest of the British press in the trial was not so intense as that in America. There were no banner headlines about it, few pictures or cartoons, and quantitatively much less coverage: of the dailies, the *Telegraph* published the most material (triple that of the *Times* of London), but the amount of news space it gave to the trial during its ten days was roughly equivalent to just two days' worth of the trial reportage in the *New York Times*. Yet the trial was considered newsworthy enough that, on average, the dailies printed pieces about it in sixteen of their twenty-seven issues during July.

This essay points out that this British interest in the trial was prompted in part by its fascinatingly bizarre human interest elements, which most dailies sensationalized for their readers' summer amusement. Although during the 1920s straightforward economic and political news predominated in its coverage of America, the British press was always on the lookout for such

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1. There are no studies of the response of the British press to the Scopes trial. As for the American press response to the trial, this study is particularly indebted to: Donald F. Brod, "The Scopes Trial: A Look at Press Coverage after Forty Years," *Journalism Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1965): 219–26; Ed Caudill, "A Content Analysis of Press Views of Darwin's Evolution Theory, 1860–1925," *Journalism Quarterly* (Winter 1987): 782–86, 946; Charles Edward Caudill, "The Evolution of an Idea: Darwin and the American Press, 1860–1925" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1986); "Larger Aspects of the Dayton Trial," *Literary Digest*, 1 August 1925, 9–11; Marvin N. Olasky, "When World Views Collide: Journalists and the Great Monkey Trial," *American Journalism* 4 (Summer 1987): 133–46.

uniquely dramatic stories. Some of them evoked a favorable response, like Charles Lindbergh's nonstop trans-Atlantic solo flight, which symbolized the Americans' dynamic vitality and optimism that many British admired. On the other hand, Prohibition was massively but unfavorably reported, in a manner not dissimilar to that of the Scopes trial, while the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was denounced. It was in its commentary on such stories in particular that the British press analyzed the character and influence of American culture. This was likewise the case with the Scopes trial, for, as will be argued, its primary attraction was that it enabled British commentators to claim that Britain was culturally superior to the United States, thereby providing an outlet for their postwar resentments of the accelerating Americanization of British popular culture, and the growing wealth and power of the United States. Drawing on the more unfavorable elements of a long-standing British characterization of Americanism, they asserted that the trial manifested America's rampant commercialism, dominated by excessive advertising and the media; its propensity to standardize thought; and most importantly, its intellectual inferiority as evidenced by the obscurantist, anti-evolutionist Fundamentalists, who governed in America to a degree inconceivable in progressive Britain.[2] Based upon such contentions, they complacently concluded of the trial that "such things can only happen in America."[3]

Although this overall interpretation of the trial was distinctively British, in its separate components it was quite similar to the unfavorable commentary of the big city newspapers of the northeastern and midwestern states, perhaps in part because most of the reporters for the London dailies filed their trial reportage from the Eastern seaboard, only the two from the *News* and the *Telegraph* actually reporting from Dayton itself. But as will also be observed, viewpoints apparently borrowed by British reporters from their urban American colleagues were usually given a decidedly British slant. This essay's interpretation of the British response to the trial is based upon the reportage of it in forty-four periodicals. To insure a representative sample and a wide range of different perspectives, the survey included seven of the sixteen London dailies; the leading provincial daily; and many of the most influential secular and religious weeklies and monthlies, which along with the newspapers spanned the political spectrum from conservative to socialist, and embraced Protestant and Catholic viewpoints, both theologically liberal and very conservative.[4]

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"It shall be unlawful for any teacher in any of the universities, normals and all other public schools of the state, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the state, to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals."

– from Section 1 of Tennessee's "anti-evolution statute."

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2. For the most comprehensive overview of British attitudes to America during the 1920s, see George Harmon Knoles, *The Jazz Age Revisited: British Criticism of American Civilization during the 1920s* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1955).

3. *Saturday Review*, 25 July 1925, 87.

4. The following were surveyed: (1) London dailies: *Chronicle, Herald, Mail, News, Telegraph, Morning Post,Times*; (2) the daily *Manchester Guardian* and the Sunday *Observer*; (3) secular weeklies and monthlies: *Contemporary Review,*

Although both the British and American press highlighted the zanier aspects of the spectacle at Dayton, the British gave it their own twist by invariably interpreting it as a reflection of typically American traits, as defined of course by the British themselves. It was the "biggest show since Barnum," as several British journalists remarked, thereby emphasizing the American nature of the showmanship. While American papers likewise reported that Daytonian businessmen were selling monkey umbrellas and monkey neckties, to the British this was proof of the ubiquity of American commercialism, as were the "American showmen" who busily exhibited to Daytonians performing apes and a dwarf dubbed the "missing link."[5]

"This statute contains nothing whatever in reference to teaching the theory of evolution in the public schools of Tennessee. And, your Honor, the caption contains nothing else—nothing else."
– excerpt from Clarence Darrow's remarks at the Scopes trial.

To the British, American-style publicity techniques were equally all-pervasive at Dayton. Since America's "rampant" publicity agents, as one commentator charged, were "prepared to run anything and anybody in the United States," he considered it no doubt true as rumored that the Daytonians had hired such agents to boost their town. Nor was the gossip unlikely, according to another reporter, that the trial would be held in a baseball stadium from which it would be broadcast nationally by radio—an absurd prospect, but "being America," a "wholly probable" one. Even more likely was that American publicity techniques would mar the trial reportage of American journalists so that their accounts would be filled with "all those grotesque features that accompany an American Press sensation."[6]

Of course, nearly all the London dailies likewise sensationalized the affair, as indicated by such multi-deck headlines as—"Camp-Meeting under the Big Speaker. Open-Air Revivalism in Monkeytown, Tenn. Sobs and Cheers."[7] Typically this referred not to any event in the trial, but to its colorful sidelights. Elsewhere in the press, such sensationalizing of the trial was itself considered a pernicious American influence, as when one periodical chided the press for allowing this "American method" to sweep the field of British newspaper journalism, a charge of traditionalists ever since the "New Journalism" of the 1880s had commenced borrowing techniques from the American press.[8] Though by the 1920s even the *Times* had incorporated some of

Discovery, Illustrated London News, John O'London's, Journal of Education, Lancet, Nation, Nature, New Age, New Statesman, Outlook, Review of Reviews, Round Table, Saturday Review, Schoolmaster, Spectator; (4) Protestant mainstream papers: *Baptist Times, Christian World, Guardian, Inquirer, Methodist Recorder, Methodist Times, Modern Churchman, Primitive Methodist Leader, Theology, United Methodist*; (5) Protestant evangelical papers: *Christian, Christian Herald, Dawn, English Churchman, Journal of the Wesley Bible Union, Record*; (6) Catholic papers: *G.K.'s Weekly, Month, Tablet* (the first was conservative, the latter two more liberal).

5. *News*, 11 July 1925, 7; *Review of Reviews*, 15 August 1925, 118; *Herald*, 7 July 1925, 1; *Telegraph*, 15 July 1925, 11; *Mail*, 18 July 1925, 6.

6. *Illustrated London News*, 1 August 1925, 198; *Manchester Guardian*, 1 July 1925, 9; *Review of Reviews*, 15 August 1925, 74.

7. *Chronicle*, 20 July 1925, 7.

8. *British Weekly*, 9 July 1925, 318.

these techniques, its reportage on the Scopes trial differed from the other dailies' by avoiding the jocularly derisive term "Monkeyville" and eschewing emotional headlines for the decidedly dull and unvarying "The Tennessee Trial." Yet those papers whose coverage was more sensational were not wholly so—two of them published expository articles by eminent pro-evolutionist scientists who in clear, nontechnical terms marshalled the current evidence for human evolution, while pointing out that still more knowledge was needed to fill certain gaps in the theory. Except for a tripartite expository article by another scientist in the *Manchester Guardian*, the press did little else to educate their readers about evolution, for most newspapers were primarily interested in highlighting the Dayton affair itself.[9]

"The statute defines exactly what the people of Tennessee desired and intended and did declare unlawful and it needs no interpretation."
– excerpt from William Jennings Bryan's remarks at the Scopes trial.

Like many of their American counterparts, British newspapers disapprovingly reported that the spectacle outside the courtroom infiltrated the legal proceedings, turning them "into a three-ringed circus" paralleling that outdoors. But this too was interpreted as typically American. The American love of publicity was detected in the shocking courtroom delays to allow photographers and motion picture cameramen to take everyone's pictures. It was observed operating in the curiously inappropriate mixture of this publicity machine with religion, as capsulized in the headline "Prayer and Flashlights in the Great Heresy Trial. Judge Brings Bible and Dictionary, Then Poses for Camera." And it was readily perceived in the solicitous recognition of the needs of radio broadcasting by the Fundamentalist judge, who was mocked for assiduously chewing gum close to a microphone so that his smallest whisper could be heard by his millions of listeners. Thus when one periodical remarked of the trial that Americans were the "best advertisers in the world," it was not meant as an altogether complementary comment.[10]

Equally disturbing to British journalists was the courtroom use of such skills to manipulate public opinion. One editorialist was particularly disgusted that both prosecutors and defenders used the trial to advertise to the American people their views regarding evolution. This courtroom manipulation of public opinion, he contended, was "unlike anything conceivable in the Courts of most European countries," and resulted in the total disappearance of the dignity expected in any British court. Yet he presumed to know exactly why Americans were so adept at such

9. See G. Elliot Smith, "Man and the Ape," *Mail*, 16 July 1925, 8; J. Arthur Thomson, "Evolution or the Bible?" *News*, 14 July 1925, 6; Julian Huxley, "The Darwinian Theory of Evolution," *Manchester Guardian*, 13 August 1925, 7–8; 14 August 1925, 9–10; 15 August 1925, 11–12. Smith was professor of anatomy at the University of London; Thomson, Regius Professor of natural history at Aberdeen University; and Huxley, professor of zoology at King's College, London.

10. "Religion and Science in Tennessee," *Round Table*, September 1925, 736; *News*, 15 July 1925, 7; *Chronicle*, 11 July 1925, 3; *Christian World*, 16 July 1925, 8; *Record*, 23 July 1925, 514.

manipulation—it had been raised in America "to a fine art by the experience of party caucuses and of Presidential campaigns."[11]

While British commentators were convinced that Americanism pervaded the spectacle of the trial, some were less certain that it could account for its dominating issue, which the British press, like the American one, proclaimed in its headlines to be the conflict of science versus religion: "'Genesis' v. Darwin," and "Angels or Apes?"[12] That this controversy should have arisen in America was perplexing to those who pondered how "a land reputedly inhabited by the most progressive of civilised peoples" could nevertheless be so reactionary as to denounce evolution and consider it incompatible with religion. Such comments assumed, as did the headline, "Truth v. Fanaticism" that evolution was scientifically valid, thereby rendering it impossible for progressives to believe anything else. But if some believed that "American obscurantism" was a contradiction in terms,[13] others found a readily available solution to this apparent paradox in the argument of the northern United States press that Fundamentalist anti-evolutionism was a product, not of the whole country, but of the rural South, which culturally lagged far behind the North. A Washington correspondent for one London daily did dispute the characterization by the eastern press of Fundamentalism as solely a southern phenomenon, countering that "the Fundamentalists in New York City are as bitter and bigoted as in Dayton." Moreover, a few British journalists reported that even in Tennessee there was an "educated minority," presumably evolutionist, while several Tennesseans currently in Britain wrote letters to the editor defending the state against the charges of intellectual backwardness, one of them pointing to Vanderbilt University as an example of the state's educational achievements. This, however, was rebutted by an American academic who contended that Vanderbilt had about the same effect on the general intelligence of Tennesseans as Trinity College, Dublin, had on the popular culture of Ireland. He then advanced his own cultural lag interpretation: the Tennesseans, never having shaken off their frontier traits of intolerance and indifference to book learning, consequently opposed evolution violently, especially since they learned of it so recently and suddenly because they lived in remote rural areas far from the modern civilization of the North.[14]

"[The anti-evolution statute] is full of weird, strange, impossible and imaginary provisions. Driven by bigotry and narrowness they come together and make this statute and bring this litigation."
– Darrow.

Other Americans writing in the British press proffered similar cultural lag theories, which British commentators thereupon elaborated with a cruel caricature of the Tennessean Fundamentalists that rivaled the most biased accounts of the New York City

11. *Times*, 25 July 1925, 13.
12. *Morning Post*, 11 July 1925, 11; 16 July 1925, 11.
13. *Mail*, 16 July 1925, 8; "'Fundamentalism' and Evolution: Thoughts on the Dayton Trial," *Review of Reviews*, 15 August 1925, 118.
14. *Morning Post*, 16 July 1925, 11; William Rufus Scott, letter to the editor, *Observer*, 16 July 1925, 18, and S.E. Morison, letter to the editor, 19 July 1925, 18.

press. Ironically, the only favorable portrayal of Fundamentalists was by Scopes himself, in an article for the *News* wherein he praised their congeniality and lovability, and credited them for their courteousness to him.[15] The closest British commentators themselves came to such charitableness was their condescending description of Fundamentalists as simple, devout, country folk. But a harsher portrait predominated. To the British, Fundamentalists were primitive agriculturalists who nevertheless exhibited the typically acquisitive modern business instincts of Americanism. Yet simultaneously they were quite irrational, as demonstrated by the "Holy Rollers" of the hills around Dayton, whose exuberant services, as one reporter marvelled, exuded the "atmosphere of medievalism mixed with radio, Ford cars and electric light." As for the Scopes trial jurors themselves, they were "mostly sun-baked farmers," one of whom was illiterate, as nearly every periodical informed its readers. Indeed, the jurors were so ignorant, as one journalist meanly joked, that they would no doubt think the square of the hypotenuse was some newfangled fertilizer. These uneducated Tennesseans, led by the chief prosecutor William Jennings Bryan—the "modern Inquisitor"—were carrying out the "terror of the Fundamentalist Inquisition," which aimed at forcing on others such reactionary beliefs as Biblical literalism, anti-evolutionism, and a "primordial hostility to science."[16]

This British portrayal of Fundamentalism as a southern, anti-intellectual, anti-scientific movement was apparently borrowed from liberal American journalists, particularly those writing for the urban, progressive press. The progressives' disparagement of American business civilization and their condescension towards rural, small-town America paralleled that of the British elite, in part because the mindset of the late nineteenth century American progressives had itself been influenced by certain Victorian British social critics who had held these attitudes. Due to such earlier transatlantic influences, the progressives' view of Fundamentalism was even more attractive to British commentators on the Scopes trial than might otherwise have been the case. In America, the liberal interpretation of Fundamentalism thereafter dominated the historiography of it until the 1950s. But since the 1960s, a revisionist school has argued, among other things, that the Fundamentalists were not wholly rural, southern or uneducated. Indeed, strong northern, even urban, intellectual influences helped shape the Fundamentalist mindset. Nor were all Fundamentalists creationists, and among those who did believe in special creative acts of God, only a minority thought that everything was created in six actual days, while others even

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"It isn't proper to bring experts in here to try to defeat the purpose of the people of this state by trying to show that this thing that they denounce and outlaw is a beautiful thing that everybody ought to believe in."

– Bryan.

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15. *News*, 18 July 1925, 7.
16. *New Age*, 30 July 1925, 151; *Mail*, 11 July 1925, 7; 14 July 1925, 7; *News*, 13 July 1925, 7; *Outlook*, 18 July 1925, 38; 25 July 1925, 51; *Chronicle*, 13 July 1925, 9; *New Statesman*, 27 June 1925, 305; *T.P.'s Weekly*, 8 August 1925, 511.

allowed for considerable evolutionary development. Moreover, they were not so much anti-scientific as they were unsympathetic to Darwin's hypothetico-deductive method, preferring instead an old-fashioned Baconian view of science that emphasized collecting hard facts without prior theorizing and then building non-speculative scientific conclusions on them.[17] Viewed in this historiographical context, the British press of the 1920s was propagating the initial elements of a mainstream American interpretation of Fundamentalism that would last for decades before being challenged.

But British commentators of the 1920s inconsistently upheld this interpretation, for unlike the American liberal journalists who helped initiate it, they were often less interested in demonstrating that southerners lagged far behind northerners than they were in emphasizing the great extent to which Britain was intellectually advanced over Tennessee, the South, and perhaps most of the United States. In the hands of some journalists, enlightened America shrank to remarkably small proportions. As one of them complacently asserted, since only a few American centers of learning, mostly in New England, had attained the cultural level of literally scores of European centers, the British "may now claim to be, in comparison with the bulk of Americans, a progressive people in religious and philosophical thought."[18]

"[John Scopes] is here because ignorance and bigotry are rampant, and it is a mighty strong combination, your Honor, it makes him fearful."
– Darrow.

As British commentators diminished the size of enlightened America, so they enlarged the predominance of unenlightened Fundamentalism. Some claimed that it governed half the country, others suggested three-fourths, and one, relying on an American source, even reported that it was the viewpoint of ninety percent of the population. If it was so widespread, it could be legitimately attributed, not just to southern traits, but to American national characteristics. Consequently, some contended that its crusading spirit could be ascribed to American emotionalism, which also conveniently explained Bryan's national prominence, for he had achieved it, so they argued, by successfully appealing to America's "gutsy emotionalism." It was to be expected, another commentator remarked, that waves of sentiment would periodically sweep across America, carrying everything before them, just as had already happened with Prohibition, an equally preposterous crusade to most British journalists.[19]

17. William E. Ellis, "Evolution, Fundamentalism, and the Historians: An Historiographical Review," *Historian* 44 (November 1981): 15–35; Ronald L. Numbers, "The Creationists," in *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 394–401; George M. Marsden, "Fundamentalism," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988): 947–62.

18. "'Fundamentalism' and Evolution," 119.

19. *Telegraph*, 28 July 1925, 10; *Guardian*, 17 July 1925, 622; "Religion and Science

Indeed the parallel with Prohibition suggested still another American trait behind the Tennessee law—the American propensity to standardize thought, as opposed to the "individualism which is the most marked characteristic of the Englishman." To some journalists, this distinction resolved the paradox so perplexing to others that in the "Land of Liberty," a "dark intolerance of the Middle Ages" should have prompted a "cold-blooded attempt to reimpose intellectual slavery" on the schools. Instead of this being "history's greatest irony," as one commentator asserted, it could easily be explained by another's contention that "We abhor 'standardisation,' which Americans love because they mistake it for efficiency. We retain a preference for individual freedom and for spontaneous irregularity." In contrast, Americans "love uniformity in their institutions, their clothes and their ideas. As one of their writers has said, 'In America "liberty" means liberty to keep in step.'" Consequently, America was not so much a land of liberty after all, whereas England was happily "the freest country in the world," where such a challenge to academic freedom as the Tennessee law was inconceivable. No wonder that Britain's "progressive minds," as one clergyman confidently assured the secular press, considered the law to be "ludicrous and preposterous."[20]

"The question is can a minority in this state come in and compel a teacher to teach that the Bible is not true and make the parents of these children pay the expenses of the teacher to tell their children what these people believe is false and dangerous." – Bryan.

Nowhere was such British progressiveness more readily apparent, as nearly the whole British press asserted, than in the overwhelming acceptance of evolution by the British public. According to one commentator, not even English tenant farmers in remote districts were as narrow-minded as their counterparts in Tennessee, although sixty or seventy years earlier they might have been. Perhaps this difference was attributable, another commentator speculated, to the fact that even England's most rural counties were more likely to have learned much earlier of evolution than the American South because they were less isolated from the culture of the big cities. Or possibly, as the zoologist Julian Huxley suggested, it was due to the British intellectual aristocracy (of which he was a prominent member), from whom progressive opinion quickly filtered down to the uncultivated masses, whose own views on intellectual matters counted for far less in Britain than did those of their counterparts in the more democratic America, where no such aristocracy even existed.[21]

For whatever reasons, it was agreed that the British public was pro-evolutionist; but it was likewise claimed that it had reconciled evolution with religion, making a Scopes trial conflict

in Tennessee," 744.

20. *Nature*, 11 July 1925, 83–84; *Saturday Review*, 25 July 1925, 87; *Mail*, 11 July 1925, 7; 18 July 1925, 6; *Discovery*, August 1925, 278; "'Fundamentalism' and Evolution," 119.

21. "'Fundamentalism' and Evolution," 119; *Outlook*, 1 August 1925, 78; Julian Huxley, "America Revisited. II.—Fundamentalism," *Spectator*, 22 November 1924, 772.

most unlikely in Britain. Journalists themselves championed the compatibility of evolution with religion, as did scientists writing for the press, one of whom confidently asserted that there was "every reason in the world for being both evolutionist and religious."[22] Many Americans argued similarly, yet the British press claimed that such an idealistic or religious interpretation of evolution was more widespread among British scientists and teachers than those in America. According to one columnist, an occasional British scientist might explain the universe on materialistic lines, but in reality, such materialism was dead in England. However in America, it was claimed, evolutionists were materialistic atheists. To substantiate this, an Edinburgh professor referred to some recent American books "containing the baldest possible statement of a purely mechanistic conception of the universe," whereas "no man of first-class standing in any British university was putting forth stuff of that kind today." Others concurred, one of them asserting that while American teachers sought to undermine traditional faith, British university professors did not teach scientific subjects as definitely materialistic propaganda. Some British commentators furthermore charged that in American universities, Freudians and behaviorists were even more guilty of propagandizing than their colleagues in biology. One such journalist, contending that psychology had made an "extraordinary conquest" of America, suggested that Bryan should have made a bogey of Freud rather than Darwin.[23]

"[Religion] is one of those particular things that should be left solely between the individual and his Maker, or his God, or whatever takes expression with him, and it is no one else's concern."
– Darrow.

This British description of an irreligious American scientific and academic community accorded with the contention of the American anti-evolutionists that the religious faith of their children was being undermined in the schools. As the only part of the anti-evolutionist argument accepted by some in the British press, it evoked from them, if not sympathy, at least a certain degree of understanding of the Fundamentalist mindset. It was not altogether unreasonable, they pointed out, that parents whose taxes paid for the schools should demand that since religious teaching was prohibited in them by law, so should anti-religious instruction.[24] But to some commentators this was a much less preferable educational solution to the problem than that provided in Britain's state elementary and secondary schools which, they claimed, taught both evolution and religion. As one religious periodical explained it, British teachers could teach human evolution in a science class, while emphasizing during religious instruction that we are all children of God, thereby averting an American style educational crisis on the issue.[25]

22. J. Arthur Thomson, "Evolution or the Bible?" *News*, 14 July 1925, 6.
23. *Manchester Guardian*, 16 July 1925, 10; 19 August 1925, 16; S.K. Ratcliffe, "America and Fundamentalism," *Contemporary Review*, September 1925, 294–95; *Discovery*, August 1925, 278.
24. *Mail*, 18 July 1925, 6; "Religion and Science in Tennessee," 740–41, 743.
25. *Theology*, October 1925, 183–84.

As the British press also proudly assured its readers, Britain had just as successfully warded off a religious conflict over evolution, primarily because the churches had accommodated themselves to it. Proof of this was forthcoming from clergy who eagerly proclaimed their enlightenment to the secular press by ridiculing anti-evolutionism and Fundamentalists in terms as fierce as the journalists. That the clergy quoted by the secular press were representative of the mainstream viewpoints of their denominations was corroborated by the church press itself. Some religious periodicals did chide the newspapers for sensationalizing the Scopes trial, but most unhesitatingly accepted their indictment of the anti-evolutionists. Furthermore, of the dozen mainstream church papers surveyed for this essay, eight directly supported some form of theistic evolution, three implied their support of it, and only one was noncommittal, publishing both a pro- and an anti-evolutionist article. Providing such a hearing for both viewpoints was quite unusual, not only in religious periodicals, but also in the secular press, where there was only a single such instance of doing this.[26] Evidently a balanced representation of views was thought quite unnecessary, because as one church paper remarked, it was difficult to imagine how anything else but evolution could be taught in England. Still another religious paper implied that the British churches had so familiarized even rank-and-file churchgoers with evolution that "in scarcely a village chapel of any Christian denomination in the United Kingdom would any allusion to Evolution send the temperature up one degree."[27]

• • • • •

"The parents have a right to say that no teacher paid by their money shall rob their children of faith in God and send them back to their homes, skeptical, infidels, or agnostics, or atheists."

– Bryan.

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Mainstream religious periodicals thus agreed with the secular press that all sectors of British public opinion had reconciled evolution with religion, thus preventing a British version of the Scopes trial. But the press, both secular and religious, emphasized that such an accommodation had not always prevailed in England, for immediately after Charles Darwin had published his *Origin of Species* in 1859 there had been an intense conflict between science and religion. Yet this Victorian conflict was itself a source of immense satisfaction to the press, for it had taken place more than sixty years earlier, whereas the United States, so the press asserted, was just now experiencing a similar conflict, demonstrating that intellectually it was more than half a century behind England. This assumption that the conflict between science and religion had long since subsided in Britain was challenged by an educational journal that pointed out that as recently as 1907 a schoolmistress who had mentioned Darwin's theory to her class had been accused of infidelity at a public inquiry of the local education authority. Its dismissal of the charge prompted a local protest meeting, which was condoned by the vicar, who was subsequently taken to court and forced to pay

26. For a list of the religious periodicals surveyed, see footnote 4.
27. *United Methodist*, 6 August 1925, 383; *Methodist Times*, 16 July 1925, 9.

damages for having told his congregation that her teaching had injured the children.[28] The journal speculated that such a situation could recur, but the vast majority of commentators, none of whom mentioned the 1907 case or anything similar, thought otherwise. Convinced that Britain had indeed been emancipated from the controversy long ago, most expressed astonishment that the United States, so progressive economically, was so far behind England intellectually. However, one rather smug clergyman who had visited the States twenty-five years earlier remarked that he was not altogether surprised at the backwardness America was currently exhibiting, for during that visit he had found it "pitifully manifest" that Americans were already half a century behind the times; but "one did hope," he piously added, that "the intervening years would have opened their eyes."[29]

• • • • •
"What is the Bible? . . . The Bible is made up of sixty-six books written over a period of about one thousand years. . . . Who is the chief mogul that can tell us what the Bible means?"
– Darrow.
•

Since the conflict of the 1860s allegedly demonstrated England's long-term intellectual superiority over America, and also supposedly cast some light on the Scopes trial, the press frequently alluded to its best known dramatic incident—the confrontation at the British Association meeting of 1860 between the young scientist Thomas H. Huxley, a defender of Darwinism, and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, its critic. As the press described it, their encounter was a "battle royal" in which the Bishop, representing the church "in its most militant mood," ridiculed Darwinism out of "blind religious prejudice." Happily, however, he was triumphantly defeated by Huxley, who in the ensuing stormy years succeeded through his fearless championship of evolution in securing a victory for the freedom of scientific inquiry.[30]

This story the press so dramatically retold was long accepted as the valid account of the Victorian reception of Darwinism. But revisionist historians have recently contended that Wilberforce, far from responding out of religious prejudice, presented a scientific assessment of Darwinism that included some criticisms that have since proven correct.[31] Revisionists further maintain that the notion of a clear-cut, intense conflict in the nineteenth century between science and religion (both in Britain and America) is too simplistic, given, for example, the criticisms and uncertainties regarding Darwinism amongst scientists, the quite rapid accommodation to the theory of evolution by some clergy, and the sense of conciliation on both sides. To these revisionists, the image of sharp conflict is a legend devised by the late Victorians.[32] The British press of 1925 was therefore unwit-

28. *Schoolmaster*, 3 July 1925, 18.
29. *Nature*, 11 July 1925, 78.
30. *John O'London's*, 1 August 1925, 570; *Nature*, 11 July 1925, 84.
31. J.R. Lucas, "Wilberforce and Huxley: A Legendary Encounter," *Historical Journal* 22 (1979): 319–20.
32. For an historiographical overview, see James C. Livingston, "Darwin, Darwinism, and Theology: Recent Studies," *Religious Studies Review* 8 (April

tingly propagating a somewhat mythical Victorian account, and even hopelessly distorting it still further by sometimes equating the British events of the 1860s with the Scopes trial. In its updated, anachronistic version of the story, the British Association meeting of 1860 was "Our own Monkeyville," with Huxley as Scopes and Wilberforce as Bryan. The Wilberforce of 1860 stood where "these Fundamentalists of America with their pamphlets 'God or Gorilla' stand to-day," while in the years following the encounter with Huxley, "many an English 'Fundamentalist'" was only doing (albeit less spectacularly) what the Tennesseans were doing now. But ultimately, by this analogy, Huxley slew the British forefathers of the current American Fundamentalists, thus settling the British conflict between science and religion for all time.[33]

Although the press derived considerable satisfaction from England's supposed resolution of the conflict so long ago, a few commentators questioned whether even during the 1920s evolution really was so universally accepted in England. One columnist, pointing to the pro-evolutionist bias of Fleet Street, speculated that there were many more in England who would vote for Moses over Darwin than could ever be gathered from reading the press commentary on the Scopes trial. A few others concurred, including a pro-evolutionist Anglican clergyman who contended not only that large numbers of church members of all denominations still believed in creationism, but that whenever Christians did proclaim evolutionism, an outcry ensued from those who protested against such outspokenness because it would be unsettling to Sunday School children, who were still being taught that all living creatures were created in six days. Still another religious commentator even speculated that a large proportion of rank-and-file church members could "be swayed towards the Fundamentalist position" if a "popular appeal" were made with "passionate conviction."[34]

• • • • •
"When it comes to Bible experts, every member of the jury is as good an expert on the Bible as any man that they could bring, or that we could bring. The one beauty about the Word of God is, it does not take an expert to understand it."
– Bryan.
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Perhaps some insights into the degree to which the British public accepted evolution can be gained from a religious poll of 1926, rather unscientifically conducted by the *Nation*, a liberal political weekly, and the *News*. Both asked their readers to fill out a questionnaire that included the question, "Do you accept the first chapter of Genesis as historical?" Of the almost nineteen hundred who replied to the *Nation*, thirty-six percent of whom claimed to be active church members, only six percent answered the question affirmatively. Of the fourteen thousand in the *News* poll, sixty-three percent of whom were active church members, thirty-eight percent replied yes. It is likely that the middlebrow

1982): 112–15.
33. *John O'London's*, 1 August 1925, 570; *Telegraph*, 23 July 1925, 10; "'Fundamentalism' and Evolution," 118; *News*, 14 July 1925, 6.
34. *Observer*, 19 July 1925, 11; *Guardian*, 24 July 1925, 643; *Expository Times*, October 1925, 5.

Nation contained a much higher proportion of highly educated readers than the mass circulation *News*, while the readership of the latter included a large number of middle-class, churchgoing Nonconformists, as reflected in its poll respondents, whose high percentage of church membership was double the national average.[35] There is no way of knowing how the respondents interpreted the poll's question about Genesis, which did not specifically mention evolution; but perhaps their responses do suggest that many of the educated elite accepted evolution, as Fleet Street assumed, while a significant minority of the churchgoing masses did not. Or as more narrowly interpreted by an Anglican weekly, among the readers of the *News*, "Fundamentalism has its supporters."[36]

Such British anti-evolutionists were ignored during the Scopes trial by both the secular and mainstream religious press, save in the *News*, which did briefly mention two conservative evangelical Protestant groups who had not accommodated to evolution.[37] But even in the Victorian era a number of British evangelicals had made such an accommodation, as did evangelicals in the 1920s.[38] Yet there still were also anti-evolutionists among the most conservative evangelicals of all denominations who were consequently quite sympathetic to the American anti-evolutionist crusade. Their press clearly reflected this, for of the six evangelical periodicals surveyed for this paper, only the leading Anglican evangelical weekly condemned the Tennessee law and refrained from championing the American Fundamentalists' campaign.[39]

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"What does the law say? . . . It makes the Bible the yard stick to measure every man's intellect, to measure every man's intelligence and to measure every man's learning."
– Darrow.
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The other five, believing in varying degrees that "the Bible should be preferred to Darwinism,"[40] could hardly have differed more sharply from the rest of the press in their interpretation of the Scopes trial. It is true that they deplored its circus atmosphere and the all-pervasiveness of American publicity methods, and they even characterized the American Fundamentalists as a "simple people" who employed silly methods to advance their cause. Yet they vigorously denied that the Fundamentalists were ignorant, bigoted fanatics. Instead they praised their spiritual earnestness as being far superior to the easy-going religious indifference of the British. To them, Bryan was a "devoted Champion of the Faith." They commended the judge (whose in-

35. *Nation*, 16 October 1926, 75.
36. *Church Times*, 17 September 1926, 301.
37. *News*, 11 July 1925, 7. The groups mentioned were the Bible League and the speakers at the annual Bible conference at Keswick.
38. David N. Livingstone, *Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1987), 96–99, 135–45; David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 207.
39. The Anglican weekly was the *Record*. For a list of the evangelical papers consulted, see footnote 4, item 5.
40. *Christian*, 2 July 1925, 3.

troduction of things spiritual had been so ridiculed by the rest of the press) for instilling a "more worthy spirit" in the proceedings, not only by proclaiming that God would guide him, but by "very beautifully and simply" asking the court to begin each day with prayer. As they perceived it, the Tennessee law was a good and noble act that did not suppress liberty of thought. Instead it protected school children from the very real dangers of an evolutionary teaching that, because it induced moral degeneracy, was also a major cause of the recent "kidnappings, murders, and other horrors" in America.[41]

Yet even to these conservative evangelical periodicals, evolution was not nearly so important an issue as it was for the American Fundamentalists, nor did they and their readers ever engage in an American-style militant activism against teaching evolution in the schools. Certainly they were deeply concerned at the "drift towards total secularization" in Britain's state schools, and criticized the quality of their religious instruction, which one of their periodicals complained was often perfunctorily given by non-Christian teachers. But on the issue of evolution itself their nonmilitancy was probably best expressed when this same periodical emphasized the overwhelming odds against a movement in Georgia that hoped to ban evolution from all the schools of the world: a whole new generation of teachers would have to be trained; all modern educational literature would have to be rewritten; and the British public would need to be educated anew, since it thought the evolution issue had been settled long ago. It therefore advised not militant public action, but cool judgment, patient endeavor, and the teaching of the Gospel.[42] The majority of British conservative evangelicals were similarly moderate, although during the 1920s a few of the most extremely conservative ones referred to themselves as Fundamentalists, while in 1927 their most fiercely anti-evolutionist periodical even renamed itself the *Fundamentalist*.[43]

"The legislature paid evolution a higher honor than it deserves. Evolution is not a theory, but a hypothesis." – Bryan.

But as has been recently pointed out, within British evangelicalism as a whole, these extremists were a very small, underfinanced, weakly organized group that was held in check by the more numerous moderate conservatives, who eschewed any American-style militancy. Scholars of both American and British evangelicalism have convincingly argued that such nonmilitancy was rooted in the relatively greater intellectual tolerance of religious differences by the British Protestant churches than by the American ones. It was due as well to the prominence among British (but not American) evangelicals of Anglicans, who as

41. *Christian*, 2 July 1925, 3; 16 July 1925, 3; *English Churchman*, 16 July 1925, 346; 30 July 1925, 375–76; *Journal of the Wesley Bible Union*, August 1925, 470, 472.
42. *Christian*, 24 September 1924, 26; 11 February 1926, 4; 10 March 1927, 3; 13 September 1928, 4; 11 April 1929, 24. See also the comment in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 207.
43. This was the *Journal of the Wesley Bible Union*.

members of the British church establishment, with its latitudinarian stance, likewise encouraged tolerance for the theological opinions of others. Traditionalism, a much more powerful force in Britain than America, was itself a moderating influence on British evangelicals. Moreover, the likelihood of a public furor over new, controversial theological issues was diminished by the greater familiarity with such matters of British church members, due in part to the centralization of British intellectual life and its communication network throughout England, which prevented the type of cultural lag between different areas of the country that in America was such an important source of the alarm over evolution.[44] Had the British press not been so dismissive of the possibility of anti-evolutionism in England, it might well have buttressed its argument that a Scopes trial could not occur in Britain by pointing out that among British anti-evolutionists, most opposed militancy, while those who favored it to a degree were a tiny, uninfluential minority.

• • • • •
"Ignorance and fanaticism is ever busy and needs feeding. Always it is feeding and gloating for more. . . . After awhile, your Honor, it is the setting of man against man and creed against creed until with flying banners and beating drums we are marching backward to the glorious ages of the sixteenth century, when bigots lighted fagots to burn the men who dared to bring any intelligence and enlightenment and culture to the human mind."
– Darrow.
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In conclusion, the British press reported the Scopes trial as an engaging human interest story. It was less interested in seriously informing readers about evolution than it was in dramatically simplifying it in terms presumably most readily understandable to them—apes, Darwin, Wilberforce, Huxley, and science versus religion. It thus perpetuated these familiar Victorian images of evolution, but through the distorting lens of the Scopes trial. By combining this with a championship of the pro-evolutionists, a ridicule of the American anti-evolutionists, and a disregard for their counterparts in Britain, the press conveyed a decidedly pro-evolutionist message to its readers.

But the British commentators on the trial were primarily interested in using it to demonstrate the intellectual superiority of the British over the Americans, whose cultural achievements and values they thereupon disparaged. According to the historian of the overall British evaluation of America during the 1920s, such anti-Americanism was on the rise by mid-decade; but even so, taken as a whole the British critique of the American character during the twenties was leavened with praise so that it was on balance (he concludes) a "not altogether unfriendly appraisal."[45] Nearly devoid of such commendation, the British commentary on the Scopes trial was thus more unfavorable to America than the overall British assessment of it at the time. This was perhaps attributable to the cultivated elite's strong aversion to the trial's sales psychology, use of the media, manipulation of public opinion and standardization of thought—all elements of

44. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 220–28; George Marsden, "Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon, A Comparison with English Evangelicalism," *Church History* 46 (June 1977): 216–24; Mark A. Noll, *Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship and the Bible in America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 63–64, 86–87.
45. Knoles, *Jazz Age Revisited*, 13, 21, 29, 57.

the commercialized mass culture which was most rapidly advancing in America, but permeating England as well. In the elite's view, this commercial culture undermined their cultural supremacy and debased cultural standards, not only through an egalitarian assumption that instead of deference to elite opinion everyone's cultural taste should be weighed equally, but also by a manipulative media appeal to the emotions of the masses who, like animals, acted all alike with a "herd instinct," rather than with individuality. "Democratic man is a species of ape," as one critic put it.[46]

In this cultural context, apes as ancestors of humans were much less worrisome to British commentators than those in the "Monkeyville" crowd, which, they believed, consisted not just of Daytonians, or even Americans, but of the British masses, for whom all aspects of commercial culture were vastly appealing, none more so than its American components such as the Hollywood movies to which they eagerly flocked. In belittling American culture and values, some who commented on the Scopes trial might have hoped to counter this extraordinary appeal of America by suggesting that it was not so alluring after all. But their disparaging trial commentary might likewise have stemmed from apprehensions that this tide of commercial culture was eroding some of the very qualities that they upheld as distinctively and superiorly British. Perhaps Julian Huxley, even when arguing that the British masses had yielded to the evolutionism of the intellectual aristocracy, suspected that due to the advance of commercialized culture, the masses were not really so culturally deferential anymore, just as others who unfavorably contrasted Americans with the individualistic, phlegmatic, less materialistic traits of the supposedly authentic Britisher recognized that these too were being weakened by the same cultural trends. Consequently their assertion that "Such things can only happen in America," though aptly expressing their confidence that a British conflict of science versus religion was impossible, masked their fearful realization that in the broader context of the trial's reflection of mass commercial culture and its world-wide Americanization, such things were indeed unfortunately happening in Britain as well. That the British commentary on the trial should have focused primarily on the character and influence of American popular culture is attributable to such fears.*

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"The Bible is the Word of God; the Bible is the only expression of man's hope of salvation.... The Bible is not going to be driven out of this court by experts who come hundreds of miles to testify that they can reconcile evolution, with its ancestor in the jungle, with man made by God in His image, and put here for purposes as a part of the divine plan."

– Bryan.

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46. This interpretation of the British cultivated elite's atitude towards commercialized mass culture is based on D. L. Le Mahieu, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain Between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 103–21.

* For his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, I should like to thank Mark Noll.

CBS WORLD NEWS ROUNDUP: SETTING THE STAGE FOR THE NEXT HALF CENTURY

World War II Begins, and Broadcast News Discovers Its Distinctive Format

Donald G. Godfrey

WILLIAM S. PALEY SAID THAT "radio news grew up with World War II."[1] During the war, radio newsmen filled the airwaves with the tragedy of conflict. Edward R. Murrow vicariously brought the war from London into American homes.[2] Some, like Elmer Davis, carried messages of isolationism.[3] H.V. Kaltenborn was even accused of being a fascist.[4] All of them—Murrow, Robert Trout, Douglas Edwards, William L. Shirer, Chet Huntley, and a new breed of reporters—portrayed the war as they saw it. According to Paul White, these people did not really set out to become "news broadcasters."[5] At first some of them were in the field organizing events for broadcast. As radio news matured, however, their names became household words.

Little has been written about the history of radio news, perhaps because it is so difficult to deal with historical materials when the primary record is within a broadcast format.[6] Most of

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1. William S. Paley, Foreword to *History in Sound*, by Milo Ryan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), v.
2. Donald G. Godfrey, "The Critical Analysis of Spoken Word Broadcasts," *Journal of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections* 14 (1982): 19–32.
3. Alfred Haworth Jones, "The Making of an Interventionist on the Air: Elmer Davis and CBS News, 1939–1941," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (February 1973): 74–93.
4. "Kaltenborn Edits the News," 27 October 1939, CBS-KIRO Milo Ryan Phonoarchive, reel 684, National Archives (hereafter cited as Phonoarchive). To the casual listener this broadcast seems a libel on democracy. See David Gillis Clark, "The Dean of Commentators: A Biography of H. V. Kaltenborn" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1965), 475.
5. Paul White, *News on the Air* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947), 43.
6. Milo Ryan, "Here Are the Materials—Where Are the Scholars?" *Journal of the Association For Recorded Sound Collections* 2 (1970): 24–32. See also Donald G. Godfrey, *A Directory of Archives* (Washington: Broadcast Education Association, 1983), i, and Cathleen C. Flanagan, "The Use of Commercial Sound Recordings in Scholarly Research," *Journal of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections* 11 (1979): 3–17.

the accounts of radio news have been biographical. White, Paley, and Shirer have provided their personal accounts as radio news pioneers.[7] Irving E. Fang has published biographical sketches describing the early radio personalities.[8] Few works have discussed the influence of World War II on the practice of radio news. Pat Cranston has discussed the history and development of the American Armed Forces Network News.[9] Robert R. Smith has traced the origins of radio network commentary to World War II radio news.[10] In describing the press-radio war and the resulting restrictions placed upon radio news during the 1930s, Giraud Chester has noted, almost in passing, that it was "following the European crisis . . . [that] both CBS and NBC organized their own newsgathering services."[11] Still other researchers have traced the development of news, but few have analyzed the specific historical foundations of broadcast news.

This article discusses what William Paley said was radio's first newscast, the CBS World News Roundup on 13 March 1938.[12] This broadcast established a precedent for broadcast news, a "roundup" style that is still evident today. A look at that first broadcast clearly illustrates the impact CBS Radio News had in establishing a format that is still widely used in both radio and television news.

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"According to a *Fortune* survey made in 1939, 70 percent of Americans relied on the radio as their prime source of news."
– Daniel Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind.*
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Radio had a dramatic effect on the lives of those living through the Great Depression. Historians examining this period, however, most often equate it with the variety and entertainment program of radio's "golden age." As George Douglas has noted:

> The depression was the making of radio in more ways than one. Smaller incomes, recession, deflation, meant that more Americans had to watch their pocket books and spend more evenings at home before the fireplace. Now they would sit before the radio.[13]

But the depression also helped set the stage for another development in broadcast history. In that politically charged climate, the low cost of receivers made radio a potentially powerful source of political information as well as entertainment.

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7. Paul W. White, *News on the Air* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947); William S. Paley, *As It Happened* (New York: Doubleday, 1979); William W. Shirer, *Twentieth Century Journey: The Nightmare Years, 1930–1940* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).
8. Irving E. Fang, *Those Radio Commentators* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1977).
9. Pat Cranston, "Some Historical Newscasts of the American Forces Network," *Journalism Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1964): 395–98.
10. Robert R. Smith, "Origins of Radio Network News Commentary," *Journal of Broadcasting* 9 (Spring 1965): 113–22.
11. Girauld Chester, "The Press Radio War: 1933–35," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 13 (Summer 1949): 263.
12. In Ryan, *History in Sound*, v. Also see *As It Happened*, 133.
13. George Douglas, *The Early Days of Radio Broadcasting* (Jefferson City, N. C.: McFarland, 1987), 206.

"Unlike any previous medium of communication, commercial radio formed a perpetual part of everyday life during the 1930s."
– Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind.*

As the issues of the depression and European conflict unfolded and the industry grew, radio became the major platform for ideological discussion. Through the use of radio, President Franklin D. Roosevelt inspired confidence in a crushed banking system. Just minutes after Roosevelt's radio address on the banking crisis of 5 March 1933, he began to receive telegraphs expressing unequivocal evidence of public response to his broadcast.[14]

Reacting to Roosevelt's fireside chats on the "New Deal," critics Huey P. Long and Father Charles Coughlin used radio to hammer home their platforms for social justice. In his home state of Louisiana, where he owned—and used—both the radio station and newspaper, Long recruited more than five million people for his "Share Our Wealth Society" after only four radio news appearances.[15] In 1932, Long had publicly supported Roosevelt's nomination as Democratic candidate for president. According to Long, it was "Roosevelt or Ruin." By 1934 his attitude had changed; he charged that it was "Roosevelt and Ruin." Long proposed redistribution of the wealth—taking from the rich and giving to the poor—as a cure for the depression.

Father Coughlin was not well known until his radio broadcasts began. After only a few months of periodic broadcasting, he had drawn enough listeners to secure a membership of millions for the Radio League of the Little Flower.[16] As the war approached, Father Coughlin criticized Roosevelt's administration for getting America into "the present mess of foreign entanglements."[17] Roosevelt countered, of course, preaching for his "arsenal of democracy."[18] These ideological debates were all broadcast on this powerful new information medium of radio.

A host of noted politicians and commentators debated the issues of the depression and scared the audience with sounds of the approaching war. Alexander Kendrick later described the impact of radio on the American audience:

> Although it [radio] does not instigate the tensions, radio elongates the shadow of fear and frustration [created by the] mechanized columns of Hitler. Radio exposes nearly everybody in a country to a rapid, bewildering succession of emotional experiences.[19]

Just two years after the first CBS World News Roundup, the phrase "This Is London" echoed in the ears of listeners through-

14. Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), 32. See also Phonoarchive, tape 4116.
15. Ernest G. Borman, "This Is Huey P. Long Talking," *Journal of Broadcasting* 2 (Spring 1958): 111–12. See also Cantril, 7–9, and Phonoarchive, tape 4279.
16. Cantril, 18.
17. Phonoarchive, tape 4062.
18. Franklin Roosevelt, "Arsenal of Democracy," radio address, 29 December 1940. Also see Roosevelt, 3 January 1938, Phonoarchive, tape 4279.
19. Alexander Kendrick, *Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), 234.

out America.[20] Writing about the influence of radio on informed public opinion in the 1930s, *Fortune* magazine reported that "the nation's favorite recreation was listening to radio . . . [and] newscasts ranked third among favorite radio programs."[21] A 1938 essay on Murrow in *Scribner's* underscored the importance of radio as an information source, noting three advantages that Murrow (and radio) had over the "greatest American newspaper":

> First, he beats the newspapers by hours. Second, he reaches millions who otherwise have to depend on provincial newspapers for their foreign news. And third, he writes his own headlines.[22]

Few Americans doubted the impact of radio during the thirties.

The Orson Welles' Mercury Theatre of the Air broadcast of "War of the Worlds" on 30 October 1939 dramatically illustrated the effect of the news-style radio format. Several factors worked together to generate that program's impact. People were used to radio bulletins, and Welles's bulletins sounded real. They were received by an audience already emotionally charged by the ideological challenges raised by radio commentators who had discussed the depression and the approaching war. As Paul White noted, it was because of these factors that the audience "believed the Welles production even though it was specifically stated that the whole thing was fiction."[23]

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"In those days, before and during most of the war, we were not permitted to use recordings. Everything was live and moved directly from the reporter's microphone into your home."
– Edward Murrow, from "We Take You Back," 13 March 1958.

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During the 1930s, particularly as the war approached, radio offered important information and involved listeners emotionally in the events of their time. In many respects, radio was unlike all other media. Dixon Wector, quoting Plato, argued that the size of the groups in which men can be governed depends upon the range of the human voice.[24] For Welles and others, radio certainly increased that range and its influence. It was as an information medium, bringing home the issues and challenges of a rapidly changing society, that radio laid the foundation for the broadcast news format we know today.

During the thirties information, news, feature, and commentary programs grew in popularity. The press-radio war restrictions limited news to bulletins and forced the radio programming of the early thirties to emphasize coverage of special events. News broadcasts were limited to bulletins aired in the morning and evening, and to events such as the "Vatican Choir at Easter time, a speech by De Valera or folk music from Scandinavia," and to political speeches and sporting events.[25] As Shirer

20. Robert Trout, "CBS Twelve Crowded Months," 29 December 1940, Phonoarchive, tapes 3701–4.
21. "Newspaper versus News Broadcasts," *Fortune* 17 (April 1938): 104–9.
22. Robert J. Landry, "Edward R. Murrow," *Scribner's* 104 (December 1938): 7–11.
23. White, 47.
24. Dixon Wector, "Hearing Is Believing," *Atlantic Monthly* 175 (June 1945): 54.
25. Edward R. Murrow, "We Take You Back," CBS Radio News documentary, 13 March 1958, Phonoarchive, tape 4065.

put it, he and Murrow were busy in Europe "putting kid choirs on the air for . . . Columbia's American School of the Air."[26] But as coverage of public events and the ideological debates increased, so did the number of commentators and the radio support staff. During the 1930s the number of commentators grew from six to twenty.[27] Both CBS and NBC distributed guidelines for these growing staffs: commentators were to "elucidate and illuminate the news of common knowledge and to point out the facts on both sides."[28]

The press-radio war forced the radio networks to nurture in-house newsgathering organizations. According to White, the first CBS news organization was founded in 1933 with General Mills as sponsor. The Columbia News Service was tied in with the "Dow Jones ticker service and a British news agency in addition to its own small bureaus in New York, Los Angeles, Washington, and Chicago."[29] Paley said that the aim of CBS was "no less than to build our own international news-gathering organization."[30] With the press-radio war and establishment of the Press Radio Bureau, however, CBS gave up its original service.[31] The bureau agreed to supply two five-minute news "summaries" per day, but they were not broadcast until nine-thirty in the morning news, or until after nine in the evening; news bulletins were limited to thirty words.[32] By late December 1938, however, the Press-Radio Bureau ceased to serve the networks.[33] But CBS and NBC had already established a foundation for news programming in their commentary and feature program staffs. As World War II unfolded, the purpose of these fledgling organizations was transformed from commentary and public affairs to news; they were to provide the first "eyewitness" news roundup.

"[Murrow] has more influence upon America's reaction to foreign news than a ship full of newspapermen."
– "Edward R. Murrow," *Scribner's*, December 1938.

The program that established today's news format emerged 13 March 1938, just three months after the Press-Radio Bureau had ceased its service. This was the first CBS World News Roundup. In his memoirs Paley called it the "first round robin of European news and commentary on the Nazi invasion of Austria."[34] Robert Trout, who anchored the roundup, described it as "a special broadcast which will include pickups direct from London, Paris, and such other European capitals as at this late hour abroad have communications channels available."[35]

26. Shirer, 288.
27. Smith, 114.
28. Paul W. White, "Covering a War for Radio," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 213 (January 1941): 83. See also *News on the Air*, 199.
29. White, *News on the Air*, 39.
30. Paley, in Ryan *History in Sound*, vi.
31. White, *News on the Air*, 41.
32. Chester, 256–57.
33. "Press Radio off the Air," *New York Times*, 28 December 1938, 23.
34. Paley, *As It Happened*, 133. See also Ryan, *History in Sound*, v.
35. Robert Trout, "We Take You Back," CBS Radio News program, 13 March 1958, Phonoarchive, tape 4065.

The major players in this event were White, Shirer, and Murrow. It was White, stationed in New York as the director of public affairs for Columbia, who initiated this first World News Roundup. He notified Shirer, who was given less than a day to pull together his part of the newscast from Europe. Shirer was Columbia's central European director, stationed in Vienna. An anxious participant in this "live" news broadcast, Shirer had been frustrated for some time at being unable to interest "anyone at CBS in letting [him] report first hand on the fate of Austria."[36] Murrow, Columbia's European director, stationed in London, was head of CBS's "foreign staff, a staff of one [Murrow]."[37] Robert Trout, known for his "smooth voice" and later called "The Voice of CBS News," anchored the roundup from New York.[38]

The approaching world war and the German annexation of Austria provided the occasion for this first World News Roundup. As the German soldiers absorbed country after country, millions of people were turning to radio as their means of information, anxious to learn of "every step in the unfolding tragedy of the European war."[39] By March 1938, Austria had fallen to the German invaders, and the world was wondering about the fate of France and Great Britain. Hitler was massing a powerful weapon. The conflict, heretofore referred to as the "European Phony War," was becoming very real.[40] Radio was becoming the source for the most immediate information concerning this growing threat.

Murrow was in Warsaw, Poland, on 12 March 1938, arranging for a special musical program for CBS. Shirer, whom Murrow had hired, was in London manning the bureau in Murrow's absence. It was Shirer, who received the call to action from White, who organized the round-up from Europe.[41] Lacking a support staff, Shirer organized a series of stringers, calling upon reporters from already established print bureaus and a member of the British Parliament. These people all functioned as reporters to "round up" the European news and present differing perspectives on the rapidly unfolding events. Shirer's stringers included Edgar Mowrer of the *Chicago Daily News*, Ellen C. Wilkinson, a member of the British Parliament, and Pierre Huss of the International News Service, a prestigious if somewhat reluctant group of first-time radio reporters.[42] Mowrer was away from Paris on vacation, and "it took some urging [by Shirer] to

"Until eight o'clock that Sunday night, no one on this earth had ever heard a world news roundup."
– Robert Trout, from "We Take You Back," 13 March 1958.

36. Shirer, 294.
37. Paley, *As It Happened*, 131.
38. William S. Shirer, *Berlin Diary* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1941), 104; Trout, Phonoarchive, tape 4065.
39. Henry Steele Commager, *The Pocket History of the Second World War* (New York: Pocket, 1945), 23.
40. Commager, 40–43.
41. White, *News on the Air*, 46.
42. Paley, in Ryan, *History in Sound*, vi. See also Shirer and White texts.

persuade him to return to broadcast."[43] Wilkinson hesitated because she did not want her participation in the roundup to hint at official British involvement in the European war. Huss was under the close eye of the Nazis in Berlin; and Murrow, who wanted to broadcast, was looking for an open shortwave transmitter between Warsaw and Vienna.

Organizing the broadcast was also more than a matter of arranging prominent stringers. The broadcast was a totally live program, and it was easier to get the stringers than it was to get the technical shortwave radio stations lined up throughout Europe for a live broadcast scheduled from New York. Murrow's fledgling one-person broadcast bureau made full use of an already established personal network of influential colleagues: "Murrow and [Shirer] had newspaper friends in every capital in Europe."[44] But, for each European city, Shirer needed a shortwave radio transmitter powerful enough to carry the signal from Europe to New York, and the German troops had closed the shortwave transmitter in Poland. So Murrow left Warsaw and headed for Vienna, where he hoped a shortwave broadcasting station would be open to permit his participation in this first World News Roundup. It was feared that he would not be able to participate, and Trout had even written "a little apology explaining that the Vienna transmitter was closed, and he had not prepared a Vienna introduction in advance."[45]

• • • • •
"News Director Paul White had had curtains hung on the walls of one of the offices here to deaden the sound, rigging up an improvised studio for the crisis."
– Trout, from "We Take You Back," 13 March 1958.
•

It would be ideal at this point to quote the original CBS broadcast at length, as listeners heard it. Unfortunately, the program exists only in fragments. CBS had banned broadcast recordings and insisted that everything they did must be live. Nonetheless, it is possible even from these fragments to feel the exigence of the world power struggle and the importance of that precedent-setting broadcast.

The historic broadcast began at 8:00 p.m., eastern standard time. Trout was the anchor who introduced the program, the subject material, and the participants. Shirer led with his report from London, followed by Wilkinson with comments on Britain's annoyance with Hitler. "No one [in Britain] wants to go to war," she noted.[46] Mowrer, who had been expelled from Germany by Hitler, described Hitler's "brutal naked force."[47] And Huss delivered a somewhat guarded report from Berlin: "All classes in Germany believed that Austria had come back to the German fold of its own will."[48] Murrow's report was simple and direct:

This is Edward Murrow speaking from Vienna, it is

43. Shirer, *Twentieth Century*, 305.
44. Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 107.
45. Trout, Phonoarchive, tape 4065.
46. Shirer, *Twentieth Century*, 307.
47. Shirer, *Twentieth Century*, 305–8.
48. Shirer, *Twentieth Century*, 308.

> now nearly two-thirty in the morning and Herr Hitler has not yet arrived. No one seems to know just when he will get here, but most people expect him sometime after ten tomorrow morning. There's a certain air of expectancy about the city everyone waiting and wondering.[49]

It worked. New York received the first reports from the major European capitals, and, for the first time, America was introduced to a radio news roundup—live reports from a variety of news locations. The international news and the live "roundup" format were now a part of broadcasting. Shirer recounted that first newscast:

> One a.m. came, and through my earphone I could hear on our transatlantic "feedback" the smooth voice of Bob Trout announcing the broadcast from our New York Studio. Our part [from Europe] went off alright, I think. Edgar and Ed were especially good . . . New York said on the "feedback" afterward that it was a success. They want another one tonight.[50]

That first World News Roundup, in other words, was more than just another report from Europe. It was a precedent-setting radio program, so successful in fact, that CBS called for a second the following night.

• • • • •
"To bring you the picture of Europe tonight, Columbia now presents a special broadcast with pickups direct from London, from Paris, and such other European capitals as have communication channels available. . . . Columbia begins its radio tour of Europe's capitals with a transoceanic pickup from London. We take you now to London."
– excerpt from Trout's introduction to first world news roundup.
•

Little of the event is recorded in the popular literature, perhaps because of the heightened press-radio competition or perhaps because the event marked only a moment in a rapid evolutionary process. According to *Newsweek*, for example, the "Big Broadcast" of spring 1938 was radio's coverage of the coronation of King George and Metropolitan Opera performances.[51] But the CBS World News Roundup left a permanent mark on the history and growth of broadcast journalism. The World News Roundup changed the information role of the radio. Previously radio had only commented on the news that print organizations gathered. Now it was gathering its own news and emphasizing factual, on-the-spot reporting rather than commentary.

In the years that followed that first broadcast, CBS coverage of the European war expanded. Within less than a year, the world news roundup became a nightly fifteen-minute news program. Paley telegraphed Murrow and Shirer following the Czechoslovakian invasion broadcasts, complimenting them on the work they had accomplished: "probably the best job ever done in radio broadcasting."[52] The CBS radio news staff grew as

49. "In Appreciation of Edward R. Murrow," BBC Broadcast, undated, Phonoarchive, tape 4063. See also "This Is Ed Murrow," CBS broadcast, 30 April 1965, Phonoarchive, tapes 3971 a,b,c.
50. Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, 107.
51. "Radio: The Big Broadcast," *Newsweek* 11 (9 May 1938): 24.
52. Shirer, *Twentieth Century*, 370–71.

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"This particular type of radio reporting is only twenty years old. The twenty-first year in humans is supposed to produce maturity and responsibility. The best in radio reporting is yet to be."
– Murrow, from "We Take You Back," 13 March 1958.
•

the war expanded and the demand for information increased. By the end of the war, the staff at CBS Radio had grown from a handful of commentators to 170 reporters and stringers who, while covering the globe, had filed almost thirty thousand reports with CBS.[53]

World War II and CBS marked the beginning of a new era for radio and television journalism. The foundations of radio and television news were laid in those first CBS roundups. Radio and television news networks today continue to emphasize newsgathering and on-the-spot factual reporting, within a format that still resembles that first used in the World News Roundup. Before 13 March 1938, Edward R. Murrow described broadcasting as "a leisurely, civilized sort of business." After the first CBS World News Roundup, the news was "rather more interesting and considerably more hectic."[54]

53. Milo Ryan and I took Ryan's text, *History in Sound*, which lists all CBS Radio News Broadcasts from 1939 to 1945, and computerized the contents, so that we could search for various themes. Additional searches produced chronological listings, alphabetical listings, and subject-related themes. The program and the completed analyses are deposited in the Milo Ryan Phonoarchives, National Archives.
54. Murrow, "We Take You Back," Phonoarchive, tape 4065.

FILM, TELEVISION, AND VISUAL COMMUNICATION

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Relying on the standard texts, one would conclude that each medium developed in its own hermetically sealed vacuum tube, without knowledge of or interaction with the other.

. . . Richard B. Jewell

THE STUDY OF visual media has long occupied a curious (and precarious) place in programs of journalism and mass communication, usually appended to narrowly defined training sequences in photojournalism or publications graphics, sometimes neglected altogether amidst an overwhelming emphasis on press reporting and editing. While everyone seems to recognize that visual media have grown to dominate mass media systems in the twentieth century, such recognition has yet to manifest itself in standard curricula. Much of this, perhaps, can be attributed to institutional inertia; academic programs traditionally preoccupied with "news editorial" sequences are slow to respond to changing emphases in the mass media environment, and tend to be most receptive to expansion in those areas traditionally associated with print journalism—photography, typography, graphic design, desktop publishing.

The "mass communication" side of the hybrid, on the other hand, has centered on survey-based research of media uses and effects, with the nature of media forms themselves largely taken for granted.

We are left with a system of journalism education in which scholarly attention is rarely devoted to the visual forms of mass media, and media as important as film and television are continually underemphasized. As film and communication studies have turned their attention to questions of television form and culture, journalism and mass communication research has lagged behind, failing to incorporate models for the analysis of visual media forms and practices. Where are the theories for explicating the role played by various types of news footage in the message structure of television news? Or methods for analyzing advertising practices, which have progressively de-emphasized language in favor of the grammar of image association? Where is the systematic study of word/image relationships integrated in the analysis of newspaper information,

Books Reviewed in This Essay

MOVIES AS MASS COMMUNICATION. By Garth Jowett and James M. Linton. Sage, 1989. 169 pp. $19.95, Cloth; $9.95, Paper.

HOLLYWOOD AND BROADCASTING: FROM RADIO TO CABLE. By Michele Hilmes. University of Illinois Press, 1990. 264 pp. $24.95, Cloth.

FIFTIES TELEVISION: THE INDUSTRY AND ITS CRITICS. By William Boddy. University of Illinois Press, 1990. 407 pp. $24.95, Cloth.

THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN TELEVISION. 2d edition. By George Comstock. Sage, 1989. 384 pp. $39.95, Cloth; $19.95, Paper.

TELEVISION CULTURE. By John Fiske. Routledge, Chapman and Hall, reprinted 1989. 400 pp. $42.50, Cloth; $13.95, Paper.

PRIME-TIME FAMILIES: TELEVISION CULTURE IN POSTWAR AMERICA. By Ella Taylor. University of California Press, 1989. 196 pp. $20, Cloth.

WORLD FAMILIES WATCH TELEVISION. Edited by James Lull. Sage, 1988. 296 pp. $35, Cloth; $16.50, Paper.

RAYMOND WILLIAMS ON TELEVISION. Selected writings edited by Alan O'Conner. Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1989. 256 pp. $14.95, Paper.

MAKING MEANING: INFERENCE AND RHETORIC IN THE INTERPRETATION OF CINEMA. By David Bordwell. Harvard University Press, 1989. 384 pp. $29.50, Cloth.

magazine formats, or the impact of synthetic imagery?

Theories and methods for analyzing the increasingly ubiquitous juxtapositions of electronic and photographic images, illustrations and words jostling across the television screen (or the pages of newspapers and magazines) are still missing, not only from standard curricula but also from research presented in mass communication journals and at conferences. Attempts to incorporate word and image relationships in media analysis, and to account for the visual mode in mass communication research more generally, necessitate reaching out to literatures not normally associated with journalism education or American mass communication research.

In this regard, a wide-ranging and important literature in film and television offers itself to those attempting concrete analyses of modern media forms and practices. Arising from fields as diverse as cinema studies, American studies, cultural studies, art history, literary theory, rhetoric, the sociology of popular culture, media studies, and the history of broadcasting,this literature incorporates methods and insights from film theory, rhetorical analysis, narrative theory, semiotics, theories of interpretation, audience research, and the history and sociology of media industries and cultural production. It provides multiple, many-layered paradigms for investigating the industrial production of conventional forms, relationships between media institutions and ideology, the processes of media socialization and professionalization, and mass media audiences and interpretive patterns.

Several recent publications reflect these developments and provide a trove of theories, ideas, and research to those concerned with the historical impact of visual communication in the mass media.

Jowett and Linton's *Movies as Mass Communication* and Hilmes's *Hollywood and Broadcasting* reject the arbitrary divisions between film and broadcasting to provide newly conceptualized histories of visual mass media institutions.

Comstock's *The Evolution of American Television* summarizes the establishment of American television as a mass media industry, explores the development of viewing patterns and use among television audiences, and outlines the responses of psychologists and sociologists who have established the present tradition of mass communication research.

Fiske's *Television Culture* complements Comstock by summarizing the "other" tradition of television studies—the application of semiotics, narrative theory, and theories of representation from cultural studies and literary theory to the specific forms and practices of television. Boddy's *Fifties Television* and Taylor's *Prime Time Families* provide historical examples of such studies of "television culture," each presenting a history and analysis of particular television forms, their social, political and industrial origins, and their cultural significance.

Lull's *World Families Watch Television* squarely addresses the need, suggested by Fiske, for building a body of research on audience reception and interpretive communities. He has collected studies attempting to discern the use and significance of television viewing within the family contexts of different cultures, from China and India to Europe and the U.S.

Bordwell's *Making Meaning*, simultaneously a history of film criticism and a rhetorical analysis of film interpretation, offers new insights about the way we approach, make sense of, and talk about media in general. And the selection of Raymond William's writings *On Television*, edited by Alan O'Connor, offers a sampler of brief, enjoyable essays by one of the fathers of British cultural studies and one of the first scholars to emphasize the failure of mainstream mass communication research to attend to and explain concrete "media forms and practices."

In *Movies as Mass Communication*, Jowett and Linton try to counter the tendency to view the cinema as "art," as a cultural text to be approached with

the tools of literary theory and aesthetic analysis, by describing the cinema historically, as a mass communication industry. By focusing on the economics and sociology of movie production and movie audiences, they make an important contribution to the study of mass communication in general. Chafing at the conventional separation of film studies from studies of mass communication—the "tendency to position movies as a separate form of 'entertainment,' with a specialized audience"—they make a compelling case for examining movies as "one segment of the mass communication infrastructure." In so doing, they summarize the many approaches to research encompassed by such an approach, from historical and economic studies of industry structure and patterns of production, distribution and marketing, to studies of the movie audience, the moviegoing experience, and the psychology of viewing, to the movies as a worldwide cultural influence shaping our "visual perspective," to the extensive interrelationships between movies and other media.

Movies as Mass Communication is unique in the way it explicitly establishes the importance of incorporating cinema studies within mass communication research. The book not only suggests the senseless arbitrariness of excluding film from mass communication research but points to a more far-reaching failure on the part of much media research to attend to relations between mass media production and cultural form. Historical research is of particular importance in this regard, since cultural forms demand historical explanation and analysis—and an historical awareness of the interrelationship between organizations of production and the aesthetics of cinematic form has been more prevalent in film studies than many other areas of mass communication research.

Comstock's *Evolution of American Television* represents a somewhat parallel account of the development of television and television research. Comstock's work is undoubtedly one of the most comprehensive summaries available of the "paradigms" by which the American television industry has developed: the conceptions and forms of entertainment, news, and political campaigning that have characterized the television system; social and economic factors that have shaped audience behavior and the viewing "experience"; the array of research questions and investigative approaches that have been applied to the medium by American mass communication scholars; and the demonstrable impact television has had on public attention, family life, perceptions, and learning. While Comstock's work does not take into account discussions of televison introduced in the last fifteen years by critical theory, cultural studies, and new movements for the ethnographic study of audiences, family contexts, and interpretive communities, it does provide a useful and insightful summary and analysis of the evolution of American television as an industrial system, and the dominant psychological and sociological models of American mass communication research that have emerged in response. Comstock concludes rather pessimistically, noting the immunity of the televison business to criticism and research on television effects, and observing that "the evolution of American television" has "become a model for the world."

Hilmes's *Hollywood and Broadcasting* joins Jowett and Linton in decrying the separation of film studies from broadcasting and mass communication, and stressing the need for a unified study of media and society. She concretely demonstrates her point by tracing the historical links between the broadcasting and Hollywood industries in American since the heyday of radio. In an unprecedented historical account, Hilmes documents Hollywood's early attempts to gain control of the budding radio networks, and reveals how, thwarted by regulatory difficulties and the resistance of both broadcasters and film exhibitors, the film industry turned to producing radio programming in the thirties. Focusing on the Lux Radio Thea-

ter as a case study, she reveals the process of "competition and cooperation" between radio and the movies that has made Hollywood a major broadcast production center. Hilmes shows how Hollywood pulls together the desire of commercial sponsors to associate their products with film stars, the desire of the industry for a nationally broadcast promotional forum, and the desire of the radio networks and stations for popular programming.

Hilmes compellingly argues that the relationship established between Hollywood and radio in the thirties set the stage for the evolution of Hollywood's relations with television, helping to facilitate the relatively rapid accommodations made between networks and studios during the fifties and early sixties. Of special interest is her analysis of the special discourse produced by the intersection of broadcasting, advertising, and film, a discourse characterized by a segmented, permeable structure marked by frequent interruptions and a "relatively shallow diegesis." That discourse differentiated broadcast programming from theatrical film while drawing upon many of the cinema's narrative and signifying conventions. Hilmes describes the carryover of this segmented, serial, disrupted discourse into television. Then, in the final chapter, she suggests that the growing conglomeration and concentration of the entertainment industry in the seventies and eighties has led to the disappearance of "Hollywood" and "broadcasting" altogether as we have known them.

Hollywood and Broadcasting is a perfect antidote to media research defined by and limited to a specific technology, medium, or industry, displaying as it does the advantages of a more integrated study of media systems.

Similarly, Boddy observes the "growing seriousness with which television history is viewed from outside the traditional field of broadcast studies," and notes the recent attention to television from film studies, semiotics, literary theory, and American studies. "One weakness of American television historiography," he writes, "has been the isolation and mutual impoverishment of these strands." His book, *Fifties Television*, attempts to provide a more integrated analysis of the emergence of the American television industry. By carefully examining the economic and regulatory environment of the fifties, a crucial period in which the structure and form of American commercial television became entrenched, Boddy links business practices to program forms, thereby clarifying the social and economic origins of television culture.

By contrast, Taylor, in *Prime-Time Families*, links television culture to the changing cultural milieus in which it has been viewed, finding connections between changing social relations in the American family and changing depictions of families in the episodic dramas and sit-coms of television. Hers is a more idealist approach than that of Boddy or Hilmes, attempting to identify the influence of zeitgeist, cultural moods, a "structure of feelings," as well as demographic changes, social shifts in marital relations, and deepening divisions of class, race, and gender in forms of popular culture. As a self-defined "sociologist of culture," Taylor believes that cultural forms shed light on underlying social perceptions and feelings, and that the study of popular culture makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the media's role in social change.

Surveying television's depiction of the American family in the post-war era, Taylor focuses particularly on the seventies as a time of social upheaval and changing family structure and marital relations. She sees these changes reflected in the symbolic representations of prime-time television, with programs centered on the domestic presentation of families and changing family life emerging in the early seventies, and programs focused on the workplace and structured around the creation of surrogate family relationships within the workplace gaining increasing prominence as the decade progressed. "All in the Family" provides a central focus for

Taylor's discussion of social conflict early in the decade (chapter 4). Programs with "workplace families" like "The Mary Tyler Moore Show," "M.A.S.H.," "WKRP in Cincinnati," and "Lou Grant" are seen to represent a reaction to the continuing disruptions in the traditional ideal, a place to regain some of the solidarity, security and warmth that Americans feel they have lost (chapter 5).

Taylor presents yet another perspective by which to understand the significance of visual media representations. By astutely recognizing the centrality of the family in television portrayals, a medium that so frequently portrays families to family viewers, she has identified a fundamental characteristic of television, a characteristic that demands further investigation within the contexts of actual viewing.

Lull's *World Families Watch Television* draws together just such pioneering work on family television viewing. Rejecting the idea that culture can be studied solely through the analysis of media texts—"Cultures are not found, they are created socially"—Lull refuses to take the "family" for granted. He argues that the family is a problematic in the interaction between media and society that must be examined closely and at length. Building from a growing body of naturalistic field research in the eighties that he himself helped to lead, Lull has produced the first collection of comparative ethnographic studies of family television viewing. The book includes work by several of the pioneers of naturalistic audience research: David Morley, whose long-term research on domestic relations and family viewing in Britain has become a model for others to follow; Thomas Lindlof, whose book *Natural Audiences* (Ablex, 1987) was one of the first collections of qualitative research on media uses and effects; and J. S. Yadava and Usha V. Reddi, two of the leaders in the expanding field of ethnographic research on media adoption and use in India.

World Families Watch Television takes seriously the proposal made by Sol Worth more than a decade ago that we move from the study of semiotics, a privileged analysis by legitimized experts of the manner in which cultural systems generate meaning, to what he called "ethnographic semiotics," the study of the way "real" people in actual interpretive communities make sense and meaning of the cultural products around them. Bordwell's *Making Meaning* comes close, with its analysis of the rhetorical and interpretive strategies employed by film critics to make sense of and evaluate the cinema. The routines and practices he examines clearly have relevance not just for film scholars but for all of us who watch and write about any visual media.

Fiske's *Television Culture* raises all of the pertinent questions concerning the expanding role of television in our interpretation of the world around us. Fiske writes of the manipulative power of the "realism" we ascribe to pictures; the ideological role played by narrative structures routinely embedded in television's "realistic" presentations; its interpretations of gender and social roles; and the highly codified nature of television news as a genre. He draws our attention to the fabricated culture of television—a culture we all too often mistake for our own. He makes clear the interrelatedness and "intertextuality" of all media today, and the need to understand television's growing influence over cultural production of all kinds. He also refers to the type of work represented in *World Families Watch Television* by stressing the active nature of audiences and the need to further examine "modes of reception," the "making of meaning," and the polysemy of television texts.

This selection of works, all published or reprinted within the last year and a half, represents an expanding literature on the visual media that cannot be ignored by journalism scholars, that, in fact, needs to be more fully incorporated into journalism and mass communication programs. We cannot continue to let received and arbitrary divisions of knowledge and study obstruct the pursuit

of mass media studies. These surveys and studies, taken as a group, suggest a whole much greater than the sum of its parts, and lay the groundwork for a new tradition of research that demolishes the old academic boundaries dividing different media, different technologies, and differing disciplinary approaches. Journalism and mass communication scholars in America would do well to throw open the doors of heretofore insulated programs and welcome such interdisciplinary study of the visual and electronic media, for the time is already past when journalism and mass media of all kinds have come under the influence of the industrial production of images.

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O'KEEFFE, STIEGLITZ AND THE CRITICS, 1916–1929.
By Barbara Buhler Lynes.
• UMI Research Press
• 1989, 376 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

THIS BOOK'S TITLE depicts the subject matter precisely. But the theme is more pertinent: how journalist-critics, even the most enlightened of the post-Armory Show era, stereotyped Georgia O'Keeffe, one of America's most innovative artists. Such an overplot has its risks, particularly in a scholarly work such as this. The author must distinguish fact from opinion—indeed, one chapter is titled "Matters of Fact and Matters of Opinion"—and be able to present evidence as fairly as possible with the goal of fulfilling a thesis or theme. Barbara Buhler Lynes not only accomplishes this but also may alter the reader's opinion of O'Keeffe.

In the opening chapters, Lynes documents Alfred Stieglitz's obsession with O'Keeffe as a fellow artist, photogenic model, extramarital lover, and subsequent independent wife. Already well-established when O'Keeffe came to live in New York at his bidding in 1918, Stieglitz became O'Keeffe's chief promoter and mythmaker, maintaining that her genius stemmed from her sex and sexuality. Stieglitz, who based his assumption on Freud, perpetuated the myth on gelatin silver prints, some depicting a nude O'Keeffe in sharp focus (as opposed to the blurred nude already in vogue).

Lynes, as scholar, presents a balanced view of such matters. For instance, in treating the gender implications of Stieglitz's famous portraits of O'Keeffe, the author writes: "Although there is no question that Stieglitz objectified the female body in some of the photographs, in others he defined a strong, spirited, serious artist and woman." This is but one of dozens of interpretations throughout the book in which Lynes changes our perspective of O'Keeffe merely by putting historic fact and interpretation above contemporary dogma and agenda.

From the start, Lynes demonstrates that what would be regarded now as sexist treatment of O'Keeffe also may have been her ticket into the male-oriented art world of the 1920s. But this ploy cost O'Keeffe in the long run, casting a long shadow upon her status as artist and professional. As Lynes notes, O'Keeffe did not attempt to censure Stieglitz; she simply put forth her own artistic manifesto to counteract her husband's. Lynes's readers, then, get to experience these two versions (or visions) of O'Keeffe doing battle in what essentially becomes journalism's inability to depict what it hitherto had refused to report: in this case, the dynamic presence of "a woman artist" (a label that eventually angered O'Keeffe, who wanted to be reviewed as *artist* sans "woman").

The result is a research book with a plot narrated via a selection of ninety pieces of pertinent criticism. The critics become characters in a morality play about the creative genius of a woman who is also a pawn of the times. Here is a representative excerpt by Paul Rosenfeld embracing tenets of the Stieglitz view: "The pure, now flaming, now icy colors of this painter, reveal the woman polarizing herself, accepting fully the nature long denied, spiritualizing her sex. . . . The organs that differentiate the sex speak. Women, one

would judge, always feel, when they feel strongly, through the womb."

Rosenfeld's articles embarrassed O'Keeffe. She writes in a letter: "They make me seem like some strange unearthly sort of creature floating in the air—breathing in the clouds for nourishment—when the truth is I like beef steak—and like it rare at that."

O'Keeffe's view of her art was as direct as her personality. One of her contributions as a modernist was her ability to resurrect the cliche of the still-life flower. She states: "I have painted what each flower is to me and I have painted it big enough so that others would see what I see."

The only criticism one may level at Lynes's book is the brevity of its conclusion, less than six and a half pages. By the end she has gained the reader's trust to such an extent that one would like to hear more of her opinions, particularly about how the labeling of O'Keeffe has contributed to current-day media misperceptions about women artists.

The book appeals to several disciplines, from journalism to feminist studies. The writing is clear and concise; the format, organized and assessible. The book contains six well-researched chapters, twenty-three plates of Stieglitz photos and O'Keeffe paintings, short biographies of critics and reprints of cited reviews in the appendices, detailed and informative notes, an extensive select bibliography, and a complete index.

The book is being offered at such a reasonable price that teachers may also want to consider it as a recommended text.

. . . Michael J. Bugeja
Ohio University

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HOLLYWOOD SPEAKS: DEAFNESS AND THE FILM ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY.

By John S. Schuchman.
• University of Illinois Press
• 1988, 200 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

WHAT A SHAME for most Americans that they gain much of their knowledge of the deaf community and culture via film and television. Deafness in American society has been subjected to particularly cruel stereotyping since early motion picture days. The author of this study, himself a hearing child of deaf parents, saw deaf characters in movies that bore little resemblance to the deaf people that he knew as a boy or those he works with today as a professor of history at Gallaudet University.

Hollywood, as usual, reflects ignorance of the broader culture. Many studies that have recently explored the presentation of various groups in American society on the basis of gender, ethnicity, or class, and now disability, have found Hollywood mired in formula and stereotype. Schuchman thinks it is far past time to do away with negative and stereotypical images of deafness, to retire the image of victim as object of pity, to stop presenting deafness as a pathological condition.

The author makes his case very well. He traces the depiction of deafness over eighty years and compares the Hollywood version with the reality. He finds reflected in Hollywood's products a national cultural bias toward deafness and deaf people. These products have done their share of harm. For example, audiences have been insensitive to comic parodies of deafness and the "dummy" figure. Generations of Americans have grown up with their prejudices formed and reinforced by film and television stereotypes.

The typical Hollywood plot has involved lots of "I can hear" miracles brought on by some trauma. Deaf characters in films are often expert lip readers and capable of perfect speech—very uncommon characteristics of the prelingually deaf. When American Sign Language—a crucial aspect of deaf communication—has been used at all, it more often than not has been badly done, or the camera cuts to the hearing actor's expression and the effect of signing is lost. Deaf actors have seldom been employed to play the parts of deaf characters. It was 1968 before the first adult deaf actor on a network series appeared. In

1986 the deaf actress Marlee Matlin had the first starring role in a major motion picture.

Schuchman recounts how the images of deafness have changed over the decades. In silent films, deafness was used as a device of trickery; the deaf depicted as tragic, pitiful, dependent victims. In the 1930s and 1940s, the deaf were portrayed as mutes with little significant signed dialogue, or else as naturally speaking lip readers. Starting with *Johnny Belinda* in the late 1940s, film and television began to feature deaf characters who used sign language in major roles. But the limited availability of captioned movies after 1927 still excluded the deaf audience from the medium. Schuchman's point is that the deaf audience had every right to complain. Only in the 1970s, at the behest of the FCC, was closed caption technology provided for television programs.

In addition, the Hollywood presentation has contributed little to the understanding of deafness. Movies dependent on formula and stereotype "have popularized a simple-minded view of deafness." As educators, we have to keep in mind what our students may or may not know about deafness. This book will make them question the presentation of deafness as well as other cultural "types." The historical presentation of deafness in Hollywood films and television programs covers the silent movie era, talking motion pictures, the changing of the "dummy" stereotype, the appearance of deaf actors, and the impact of television. Professor Schuchman's carefully researched filmography describes hundreds of interesting movies and television programs featuring some aspect of deafness.

Hollywood Speaks is a significant contribution to an important aspect of film history.

. . . Maureen J. Nemecek
Oklahoma State University

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DANIEL DEFOE: HIS LIFE.
By Paula R. Backscheider.
• Johns Hopkins University Press
• 1989, 688 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth

DANIEL DEFOE (1659–1731) was not only a great founder of the English novel but also a father—some say *the* father—of English journalism. Defoe's influence transcended the modern-day divide between "literature" and journalism. His young manhood spanned the Restoration in English history, which included the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the demise of the last Newspaper Licensing Act in 1694. These two occurrences reflected, respectively, the ascendence of the English parliament over the English crown, and the end of any but a nominal attempt by monarchs William and Mary to control the English press. Great literary journalists like Defoe and Jonathan Swift were the result.

Defoe's heritage as a journalist included the famous Miltonic doctrine of freedom of the press, uttered in 1644 during the English Civil War, and the Whig-Tory system of two-party government that grew out of that conflict. Whereas John Bunyan was the last of the Puritans to be of literary significance, Defoe was the first of the "Dissenters"—those who favored Presbyterianism or Independentism over the reestablished Anglican church, which came with the restoration of Charles II to the English throne in 1660—to be of journalistic-literary significance.

Defoe founded the Whig periodical *Review* in 1704, at a time when English journalism was barely fifty years old. Roger L'Estrange, editor of the Tory *Observator*, died the same year. Showing the connections among journalism, verse forms of the day, and religious pamphleteering, L'Estrange's paper was written in a dialogue that often rhetorically pitted religio-political foes against one another in a provocative manner. Defoe, having been pilloried three times in 1703, avoided this tradition, as well as the violent party affiliation of seventeenth-century journalism, and founded the *Review* along more moderate lines, with more of an eye toward

commerce and literature than partisanship.

Defoe's career was a hodgepodge of successes and failures, bankruptcy and rescue, obscurity and the eventual climb to literary immortality with the publication, at age sixty, of *Robinson Crusoe*—although the book was not well received by the literary establishment of Defoe's day, aimed as it was at the increasingly influential English middle class. Indeed, *Crusoe* contains so many of the values of the English middle class as to make it virtually a mirror of the manners of early eighteenth-century British bourgeois life, a culture whose contours Crusoe does not desert even during his marooning.

Implicit in *Robinson Crusoe* were not only the *values* of the middle class but a new economic as well: the publishing of adventure books on speculation, without aristocratic patronage. As a corollary to this new method, as Edwin Emery has pointed out, *Crusoe* was widely republished in American colonial newspapers.

Paula R. Backscheider's *Daniel Defoe: His Life* is one of the few Defoe biographies to give plenary treatment to his literary-political journalism and to his connections and contributions to the press system of his day. Backscheider, a professor of English at the University of Rochester, traces Defoe's life in three parts: (1) his birth to a Flemish butcher's family, through his brief career as a merchant who quickly went bankrupt, to recovery—only to find himself a political fugitive and, finally, a political prisoner; (2) his middle life, starting with his release from prison by the influence of a high-ranking government official who used him later as a political spy, to his forced remove from a relatively moderate commercial position, to more of the partisan journalism that had got him pilloried in 1703; (3) a resurgence of his literary talent and efforts in the face of failing political alliances, to *Robinson Crusoe* and literary success, followed by a typically bourgeois concern for progress-oriented "projects"—followed by declining health and death.

On the way, we learn what an exciting life Defoe really did live: his conviction for sedition, his political role as a double agent, his creation of a spy network, his infiltration of rival newspapers, and his acquaintance with some of the most famous and notorious people of his day.

Backscheider's book, the first full biography of Defoe since 1958, is extremely well-researched and richly detailed, and includes previously unpublished manuscript material from almost every period of Defoe's life. It will surely be the definitive biography of Defoe for some time to come. Backscheider, who occasionally falls a little into the jargon of literary analysis, is best when detailing some facet of the author's life and not evaluating his work. Here is a representative passage: "Even in this tumultuous, serious world, Defoe must have done the things children always do. He must have played in the vacant lots and built with the stones and boards in the wreckage from the fire. He undoubtedly knew the markets, shops, warehouses, and wharves of the city well. He surely saw pickpockets pumped [Water was pumped on them for punishment], thieves hanged, and the carriages of the wealthy crowd the narrow streets."

Although *Daniel Defoe: His Life* may perhaps be more interesting to an audience with a penchant for literary history, it will yield a good deal of satisfaction as well to those interested in journalism history, especially to those interested in the history of literary journalism. Backscheider's scholarship, at times formidable, is never forbidding, and she is a gifted, entertaining writer. Her book is an important contribution, then, to two fields—journalism and literature—whose modern-day dichotomy her adventuresome, dissenting subject would likely neither have approved of nor understood. Highly recommended.

. . . *Gary L. Whitby*
Springhill College

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HOW MANY WORDS DO YOU WANT? AN INSIDER'S STORIES OF PRINT AND TELEVISION JOURNALISM.
By Leslie Midgley.
• Birch Lane Press
• 1989, 320 pp.
• $19.95, Cloth

TO QUOTE MICHAEL D. Murray in the fall 1989 issue of this journal: "Another book about CBS?"

Afraid so. This time another veteran of that much-written-about network, although not an on-air personality, takes readers through his career, which began on newspapers, moved to magazines, and ended at CBS, where he spent twenty-five years, five of them as executive producer of the "Evening News."

Like most books of this type, this is largely a fond remembrance of things past, anecdotally presented by a man who thoroughly enjoyed what he was doing, sought to do it well, and, seemingly, almost never experienced a dull moment.

As such, it has greater potential interest for young people entering the news professions—particularly broadcasting—than it does for communication history researchers. For the researcher's purposes, it is rather thin and not particularly fresh. Midgley was there for many of the great events of his times, from World War II through the convulsive 1960's, Vietnam, and Watergate. But so were countless others, many of whom have written about the same things with greater depth and analysis.

The first third of the book is about Midgely's print career, which included stints on the *Denver Post*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Chicago Times*, and *New York Herald Tribune*, including the latter's Paris edition, and *Collier's* and *Look* magazines. Researchers interested in those organizations and people who worked for them might find something of interest here. There is a helpful name index.

Midgley also describes the production of some of the many CBS documentaries and instant news specials of his tenure, such as the fall of the Diem regime and coverage of the JFK assassination in 1963 and several tributes to such people as Richard Rogers, John Wayne, and Jack Benny.

The presentation is staccato. Short, punchy paragraphs. Lots of sentence fragments.

As for the general level of analysis, this is about it:

"Television news offers pictures that demand attention and with them bring emotion, which is not to be scorned but indeed highly prized.

"Printed news offers far more complete information.

"Take your pick."

In fairness, he doesn't pretend to be profound: "The whole ball of wax of television and its effect on society cries out for a Gunnar Myrdal to explain what it *really* is and what its future is going to be."

Until that happens, one might more profitably spend time with two other recent books, one a memoir, the other an interpretive study—Russell Baker's *The Good Times* and Peter J. Boyer's *Who Killed CBS?*—before picking up Midgely's largely glossy offering.

. . . Daniel W. Pfaff
Pennsylvania State Univ.

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THE CULTURE OF PRINT: POWER AND THE USES OF PRINT IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE.
Edited by Roger Chartier and translated by Lydia B. Cochrane.
• Princeton University Press
• 1989, 351 pp.
• $45, Cloth

WHEN IT COMES to wines, sauces, and literary/cultural studies, the same doctrine seems to apply: "If it's French, it's got to be good." Properly deconstructed, this doctrine turns out to be more religious faith than natural law. But, like most religious faiths, there's a nugget of truth in it; and this is especially so for that subfield of literary/cultural studies known as "the history of the book." In this field, I'm pleased to report, the doctrine usually holds up very well indeed.

What French historians have done so well is to turn the technological history of printing and the business history of pub-

lishing into the cultural history of reading and readers. They have pioneered in the study of, not just literacy, but the *uses* of literacy. A major figure in this new cultural history of reading has been Roger Chartier, editor and contributing author of *The Culture of Print*. Chartier was a key organizer of the collaborative effort that produced the *Histoire de l'Edition Francaise*, which has inspired similar multivolume projects in Britain, Germany, and the United States. His own book on the culture of print has recently become available to English readers as *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton University Press, 1987), translated by Lydia G. Cochrane.

The main theme of much of this work, including the essays in *The Culture of Print*, is what Chartier calls the "plural appropriations" of the printed word. The term "power" in the subtitle is important and intentionally ambiguous. Several of the essays are about how printing was used by elites to impose authority and orthodoxy in religion or politics. But the imposition of authority via print is risky, for while the authorities may do the printing, it is the reader who reads. And reading seems to be an enterprise inherently corrosive of authority. This book is about that cultural corrosion. It is a collection of case studies of how texts were appropriated by readers for their own uses, with chapters on hagiographic pamphlets, sensational tracts, prayer books, marriage covenants, doctrinal books, and official news proclamations. Most of the authors discuss pictures as well as words, and the book includes some wonderful illustrations (unfortunately reduced to eye-squinting size).

My own favorite chapter is by Paul Saenger on manuscript "Books of Hours" (prayer books) in the late Middle Ages. Saenger describes a critical change in the nature of reading in western Europe well before the age of print. This was the development of *silent* reading and its uses in a new style of *private* religious piety. Saenger explains how silent reading (as opposed to oral liturgy and ritual prayer) required a new kind of "comprehension literacy" and, significantly, promoted a new intimacy between the reader and the book, an intimacy beyond the purview of priest and prince. In other words, long before Gutenberg set his first line of type, the book had begun to speak directly to the mind of the reader; and the world was changed. Perhaps as well as anything I've read, this little essay shows how the power of the word inheres in the reading not in the printing, in the reader not in the press.

Of course, the nine essays in *The Culture of Print* are not equally good. Some suffer from the congenital defect of cultural studies: too much speculation; not enough empirical research. In several chapters the readers are more inferred than found, and the arguments are largely the authors' own more-or-less inspired readings of texts. Most are nicely empirical however, and there is mercifully little of the jargon of French literary studies that American scholars find so helpful when they are confused. Indeed, several of the essays are ingenious and quite successful in their relentless pursuit of readers. For example, Chartier himself makes excellent use of a collection of marriage charters, many of which were altered and customized by their buyers; Marie-Elisabeth Ducreux draws upon the interrogation dossiers of Protestant book readers caught up in the Catholic inquisition in eighteenth-century Bohemia.

Might American historians learn research methods as well as jargon from the French? I think so. Indeed, it is happening already. Several recent books suggest that American historians are developing an exciting and genuinely empirical history of reading and readers in this country. My own favorites are Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (Oxford University Press, 1986); David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Knopf, 1989); and Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion*

of Information in Early America, 1700–1865 (Oxford University Press, 1989).

Perhaps the publication of *The Culture of Print* will inspire us to bring this new history of reading into the history of American journalism.

. . . *David Paul Nord*
Indiana University

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NEW ESSAYS BY HENRY FIELDING: HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *CRAFTSMAN* (1734–1739) AND OTHER EARLY JOURNALISM.
By Martin C. Battestin with a stylometric analysis by Michael G. Farringdon.
• University Press of Virginia
• 1989, 640 pp.
• $50, Cloth

HENRY FIELDING'S reputation as a leading eighteenth-century novelist, as the popularity of his masterpiece *Tom Jones* continues to prove, has endured well the test of centuries. His reputation also rests upon his work as a dramatist and essayist. Yet, in regard to his essays, it has long been thought that he wrote more than has been acknowledged. Martin C. Battestin has found and identified forty-one additional Fielding essays, which he presents in this volume. They appeared as anonymous and pseudonymous contributions to the *Craftsman* between 1734 and 1739.

The volume manifests monumental scholarship and reports significant findings. Battestin's purpose in doing it was "to disclose not only one of the best kept, but one of the most important, secrets of eighteenth-century literature." Only someone with his impeccable credentials as a Fielding scholar could have carried this study to successful conclusion, for it involved rigorous and extensive application of literary attribution methodology. He demonstrates a master's touch at perceiving parallels and correspondences of thought and language between the attributed works and Fielding's known writings. In Battestin's judgment, thirty-one of the essays, which constitute the body of the book, bear abundant and distinctive signs of Fielding's probable authorship. He is less certain of ten other essays, which he includes as an Appendix, but he feels they contain enough traces to make them "unmistakably Fielding's work." "A Stylometric Analysis" of the texts by Michael G. Farringdon is included at the end in order to give the reader the benefit of different methodological validation of the essays. Farringdon's statistical analysis supports Battestin's case, and the combination of literary and scientific methods found in this study make it a unique contribution to literary scholarship.

The appeal of the volume, however, goes beyond its impressive display of the scholarship of literary attribution. Battestin is to be commended for his presentation of the individual essays. Each is preceded by a full and engaging introductory statement and followed by elaborate notes that informed readers will not wish to skip. The essays reveal Fielding's narrative skills and erudition. They are amusing, satirical, and sometimes cynical but always effective statements in the Hanoverian public debate. They penetrate into the whirlwind of the era's political journalism, for the *Craftsman* was the "principal political journal of the decade." Moreover, as the leading organ of the opposition, it afforded Fielding repeated opportunity to attack prime minister Sir Robert Walpole. One of his favorite targets was Walpole's *Daily Gazetteer*. Fielding's ridicule of that paper and other vehicles of the ministerial press easily conveys the contempt he had for Walpole and his "legion of propagandists." Journalism historians will be particularly interested in several essays that deal with libel and liberty of the press, and they will especially wish to study one entitled "On the Untruthfulness of Newswriters," in which Fielding attacks the irresponsibility of contemporary journalists.

New Essays by Henry Fielding is a significant book for scholars and for general readers with an interest in Fielding. Journal-

ism historians will find it informative about the style and content of eighteenth-century political journalism and will encounter in it many examples of the cultural and humorous rhetoric that characterized the press at that time. It is unfortunate that the book's price will limit its acquisition mainly to specialists and libraries with an interest in eighteenth-century studies. They, however, should not be-without it.

. . . James D. Startt
Valparaiso University

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THE BIOGRAPHY OF OTTMAR MERGENTHALER, INVENTOR OF THE LINOTYPE.
Edited by Carl Schlesinger.
• Oak Knoll Books
• 1989, 144 pp.
• $35, Cloth

CARL SCHLESINGER'S collection on Ottmar Mergenthaler, inventor of the linotype, presents an assortment of information about the inventor, his invention, and the story of its commercial introduction and diffusion. The bulk of the volume consists of the reprinted 1898 "biography," apparently dictated by the consumptive Mergenthaler himself a year or two before his death. The volume also includes the following: comments by Wolfgang Kummer of Linotype AG and by Elizabeth Harris of the Division of Graphic Arts at the National Museum of American History; documentation establishing the autobiographical nature of the "biography"; an article reprinted from the *New York Tribune* of 1889 describing that newspaper's experience with the machine; selected pages from the catalogue of Mergenthaler's machine shop; an annotated collection of photographs, illustrations, and textual reproductions; Schlesinger's identification of the linotype-set portions of the first *Tribune* page to include them; and his technical explanation of how the linotype print might have been made to match the hand-composed text as closely as it does.

Mergenthaler's linotype, so called because it typeset an entire "line of type" from text entered at a typewriter-like keyboard, allowed one operator to perform the work of both the hand compositor and the type foundry. It constructed a type mold letter by letter, adjusted spacing between words to justify the line, filled the mold with molten metal, turned out the final line of type, and re-sorted the molds. According to the biography, Mergenthaler, a machinist and model builder in Washington and later Baltimore, arrived at this final conception after a series of improvements on a machine he was asked to model but that proved impracticable. Mergenthaler worked with the backers of the original version, and with the company they formed; he did not hold the patents, and he never had a controlling interest in the company. This circumstance became particularly critical when company control passed into the hands of a newspaper syndicate. The syndicate was interested in acquiring machines for its own use but not, for a time, in making them available to others: from 1886 to 1889 the company essentially undermined its own reputation publicly, while newspapers such as the *Tribune* were in fact using the linotype. By the time company control shifted and other stockholders attempted to resecure its reputation, Mergenthaler had been forced to relinquish what control he had had.

Thus Mergenthaler's story stands in stark contrast to the prevalent myth of the successful independent inventor, and as testimony to the perils of the U.S. patent system. That the first printed page in Schlesinger's volume contains only a quote, printed in oversized type, "attributed" to Thomas Edison, heightens this irony: Edison's success has long formed the backbone of this myth, and one can therefore find quotes on all manner of topics "attributed" to him. Unfortunately, this volume supports an alternative myth, in this case one about the underappreciated genius who is badly mistreated by the greedy men who control his fate, and who dies young and unrewarded, a victim of over-

work and heartbreak. Of course, elements of any myth are valid, but a more useful history must be crafted weighing the different viewpoints presented by different kinds of evidence, and incorporating technical detail into a larger picture. The material in this volume may serve as a useful starting point for the student of this phase of printing history; for a synthetic story placed in well-rounded historical context, the reader must look elsewhere.

. . . Nina Lerman
University of Pennsylvania

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MASS MEDIA IN CHINA: THE HISTORY AND THE FUTURE.
By Wan Ho Chang.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1989, 352 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth

THE RECENT POLITICAL changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union point to a new role for the mass media in these countries. Exactly what that role is remains to be seen, but it is likely that the Soviet Communist media theory outlined by Wilbur Schramm in *Four Theories of the Press* no longer applies.

The example of China may indicate what is in store. In the late 1970s, as part of the economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping, the mass media of that nation were allowed greater freedom than in the traditional communist system. News values changed, new topics were covered, and journalists were allowed greater leeway in their work.

To tell that story, Wan Ho Chang draws on interviews with journalists in China, supplemented by printed sources such as Chinese journal articles and yearbooks. As director of the international graduate journalism program at the University of Missouri, Chang has also worked with Chinese media professionals doing graduate work in the United States, and some of their research is incorporated into his book.

The result is a detailed account of four newspapers and three broadcasting systems, preceded by a brief history of journalism in China and followed by a section on journalism education and Chinese journalists' perception of the role of the press. Particularly interesting is the chapter on the *World Economic Herald* of Shanghai, one of the papers that sprang up as China moved toward a market economy and as the need for economic information grew. While it provides detailed information about the media in China, Chang's reliance on Chinese sources has its problems. The tone of *Mass Media in China* is far from neutral. In accordance with the Communist Party line of the 1980s, the "ultraleftist" policies of Mao Zedong and the Gang of Four are denounced throughout the book, and the leadership of Deng is praised. Also, in an echo from the debate over a new world information order, the Chinese media are lauded for growing more and more objective because of their connection to the Communist Party, while Western journalists are seen as incapable of objectivity because their news is written to sell papers.

The Marxist angle is particularly evident in the historical section, which accounts for about one-sixth of the book. Chinese journalism history is seen primarily as the history of the press of the Communist Party, even before the formation of the People's Republic in 1949. Thus, the media of the Chiang Kai-shek regime are barely mentioned.

Unfortunately for a book about the future of the Chinese mass media, the events of June 1989 have belied much of the optimism and faith in Deng that is expressed in Chang's book. As the author notes in a sad, brief afterword, the Chinese press has chosen to tell the history of the student protests based not on what really happened but on Party directives, describing the reporting about the student protests before they were crushed as the work of "a small band of thugs" seeking to confuse the people. If *Mass Media in China* had taken a more disinterested view toward its topic, the difference between the book and its afterword would have

seemed less ironic and inexplicable.

. . . *Jonas Bjork*
Indiana Univ. at Indianapolis

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HATTIE: THE LIFE OF HATTIE MCDANIEL.
By Carlton Jackson.
• Madison Books
• 1989, 256 pp.
• $17.95, Cloth

SEE YOU AT THE MOVIES: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MELVYN DOUGLAS.
By Melvyn Douglas and Tom Arthur.
• University Press of America
• 1986, 268 pp.
• $25.75, Cloth; $10.25, Paper

THE ELECTION OF Ronald Reagan to the presidency—and his performance as president—have raised scholarly interest in the political uses of celebrity, and in the politician-as-celebrity. Michael Rogin's recent work, *Ronald Reagan, the Movie: And Other Aspects of Political Demonology*, has shown how, in Reagan's case, these two very different figurations of American popularity came together in a single individual. What is often forgotten is that the actor-president had important historical precedents in Hollywood. As a mass medium, the movies had created personages of genuinely national influence, and because of the movies' unique representational abilities, these individuals had a corporeality, and therefore a presence, unlike any such personalities before them. When to this presence was added the motion picture industry's genius and enthusiasm for promotion, the results could be both awesome and frightening.

Lary May, in his *The Screening of America*, has ably shown that Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford were the first (and perhaps to this day the most adroit) actor and actress to translate their screen images into off-screen personalities. These personalities, in fact as carefully managed and as fictional as any film role, were the basis of a transcendent, international fame, which in turn made Pickford and Fairbanks virtually political figures in America, and caused them to be treated as de facto royalty and arbiters of manners and mores from about World War I through the late 1920s. Two recent books view the intertwining of politics and celebrity from very different perspectives, but both have as a premise the extraordinary poignancy of motion picture stardom in a political context. During the so-called "Golden Age" of Hollywood (which both these works treat) the power of the movies as a cultural force was unquestioned, and star images were central to individual identification and mass socialization in a nation that sent ninety million people through the doors of movie theaters every week. Here, a biographer and an autobiographist deal with the political implications of this power, and in both cases, the subjects of these books, actress Hattie McDaniel and actor Melvyn Douglas, are finally, fascinatingly, unable to understand the sources of their own celebrity, and of the difficulties both found when this celebrity was translated into the political arena. But the reader will find in these works the circumstances and consequences of political activity in the lives of two whose fame originated in their skills as performers, and extended into a quite different realm.

Carlton Jackson's admiring biography of Hattie McDaniel is a welcome addition to the continuing effort by scholars such as Donald Bogle, Richard Dyer, and most notably Thomas Cripps to challenge the negative consensus on early black moving-image performers. That consensus, on actors such as Louise Beavers, Stepin Fetchit, Eddie Anderson, and Bill Robinson, as well as McDaniel, arose solely from interpretations of the stereotyped characters those actors played in the light of the later history of the civil rights movement. Those roles of the thirties and forties are often humiliating and embarrassing by present standards, but until the publication of Thomas Cripps's *Slow Fade To Black* (Oxford University Press, 1977), few scholars had been willing

to exchange solid research for bad criticism when discussing the image of black performers on screen.

In Hattie McDaniel, Jackson has a worthy, fascinating central figure. A gifted performer on stage, screen and radio, McDaniel won a 1939 Academy Award for "Gone With the Wind," the first ever given a black. But that was merely one of a dozen important "firsts" that made McDaniel a herald of integration in the entertainment industry. Following Cripps's example, Jackson is adroit in suggesting the impact McDaniel's career had on black Americans of her time. Historians of the black press will find useful Jackson's examination of the reception of McDaniel's life and films in papers such as the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Amsterdam News*, although more systematic coverage of these and other black journals would have been welcome.

As a serious talent and as a figure in the pre-history of the civil rights movement, Hattie McDaniel receives excellent testimony in her behalf from Jackson. Where McDaniel's career is well-documented, such as during her years with producer David O. Selznick in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Jackson provides an especially informative account of the debates about the screen image of the black American that took place off-screen, in writers' minds, producers' offices, and in newspaper columns.

Most often, however, such documentation of the lives of black performers just doesn't exist. For instance, in discussing McDaniel's careers as a saloon singer in Milwaukee and as the star of the radio and television show "Beulah," Jackson's narrative could have benefited from more rigorous local and corporate history, respectively, rather than rely so heavily on anecdote and McDaniel's own papers. A more precise focus on the position of blacks within these institutions could only strengthen Jackson's picture of an individual at the very center of incipient social change.

In a readable, enthusiastic manner, Carlton Jackson makes Hattie McDaniel the heroine of her own life. This choice has its pitfalls; as Jackson would admit, McDaniel was often not the engineer of integration in the entertainment industry, but rather a very important lightning rod around whom the storms of the early civil rights movement raged. Black artists like McDaniel lived in an uncomfortable space, bounded on one side by the roles their white employers offered them, on another by the values they were asked to portray as the most visible members of their race, and on a third by their own proclivities and interests. The way into that space may not be accessible to any biographer, but in its exploration lies the meaning of these remarkable lives.

Melvyn Douglas was, in many ways beyond racial distinction, McDaniel's functional opposite, and so his autobiography tells of an inversion of the terms of her celebrity. Douglas actively sought a role as a minor political policy-maker. But while McDaniel gained political integrity from her films, Douglas continually found his lightweight screen image a liability.

Douglas quickly won movie stardom in the early 1930s, after an apprenticeship in stock and on Broadway. At MGM in the 1930s and 1940s, he was often cast as a suave, witty leading man, a perfect complement to the studio's leading women such as Garbo, Crawford, Dietrich, and Loy. After World War II service, bored with his screen career, Douglas returned to the stage, where he had a distinguished career as an actor and director. Infrequent but brilliant film roles, in character parts, highlighted Douglas's last years; he won two Academy Awards before his death in 1981. *I'll See You at the Movies* was written, with Tom Arthur of James Madison University, in the last years of the actor's life.

Interestingly, Douglas's career crossed that of McDaniel at a crucial juncture in both their lives. Douglas tested for the part of Rhett Butler in "Gone With the Wind," and though producer David O. Selznick judged his performance the finest reading of the part he had seen, he nonetheless cast Clark

Gable. It is significant that this disappointment is unmentioned in Douglas's autobiography; indeed, Douglas's film career is given almost desultory treatment. He quickly outgrew movie stardom, and much of his account of his days as leading man is filled with anecdotes that suggest that he found the behavior of other actors, such as Crawford and Gloria Swanson, infantile and bizarre in the extreme.

Where McDaniel constantly struggled with the political implications of stardom, Douglas sought anonymity, seeking to make his political way in the late New Deal period without recourse to his movie fame. As he discovered, this was impossible, and his career as a movie star and his life as a liberal political figure were constantly entangled. The somewhat naive Douglas was introduced to political action in the mid-1930s through his wife, actress-turned-politician Helen Gahagan Douglas. His most sustained activity came during World War II, during which he served first in the Office of Civilian Defense, and then as a liaison officer in charge of entertaining troops in the China-Burma-India theater. After the war, Douglas helped devise the remarkable "Call Me Mister," a "readjustment musical" that had great success on Broadway. The rest of Douglas's tale is that of a liberal gadfly, active during but never central to significant postwar moments such as the Hollywood blacklist, and the two Stevenson campaigns, the first presidential candidate to use organized celebrity endorsements and spokespersons such as Douglas and Myrna Loy. Readers of previous general works on politics and the Hollywood community, such as Larry Ceplair and Stephen Englund's *The Inquisition in Hollywood* (University of California Press, 1983), will find important first-hand confirmation here, written in Douglas's always thoughtful, articulate style. Douglas is also interested in the press reception of his political ventures, and these are cited throughout.

The lives of Douglas and McDaniel are well-reported in these books, and their careers as public figures are two significant, if different, examples of the interplay of the screen and social change as expressed in the persona of the movie star.

. . . *Kevin Jack Hagopian*
University of Wisconsin

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ONWARD AND UPWARD: A BIOGRAPHY OF KATHARINE S. WHITE.
By Linda H. Davis.
• Fromm International.
• 1989, 300 pp.
• $11.95, Paper

THIS BIOGRAPHY OF Katharine S. White, an editor and guiding force at the *New Yorker* for thirty-five years, provides a wealth of detail about both her professional and private lives. She came to the magazine in 1925, only six months after its founding, and soon made herself indispensable to editor Harold Ross, advising about everything from cover art to humor and making a case for the trend-setting poetry and fiction that became the *New Yorker*' s trademark. She discovered and cultivated such writers as John O'Hara and Vladimir Nabokov. Janet Flanner, a longtime *New Yorker* contributor, called her "the best woman editor in the world."

In writing this biography, originally published two years earlier by Harper and Row, author Linda H. Davis had the good fortune to receive assistance from White's family members, including her children and her husband, E.B. White. She also used Katharine White's papers and letters, deposited at the Bryn Mawr College Library, to good advantage and benefited from interviews with many of her acquaintances. Still, as Davis admits in her preface, something "essentially private and unknowable" remained. That undoubtedly would have pleased White, a reserved New Englander who refused even to be included in a 1937 edition of *Women of Achievement*, because she saw it only as an appeal to the vanity of those it described.

Although she became engaged at eighteen to law

student Ernest Angell, White always intended to work outside her home. Attending Bryn Mawr while Angell finished his law degree at Harvard only reinforced her determination. The couple postponed marriage until a year after her graduation. Angell had joined his father's law firm in Cleveland, where White found a job surveying the living and working conditions of the city's handicapped residents. She maintained her own bank account and divided the household expenses. When asked, late in her life, if a hospital form should list her occupation as "housewife," she replied indignantly, "semi-retired fiction editor."

She tried several jobs, both paid and volunteer, after the Angells moved to New York City in 1919. By the time she found her niche at the *New Yorker*, she had two children and problems with her marriage. She met E.B. White through his work for the magazine and married him a few months after a Nevada divorce in 1929. She had a third child in 1930, at age thirty-eight.

Davis suggests that White found in her work at the *New Yorker* an outlet for her maternal instincts more satisfying than actually mothering her children. This example of the author's psychologizing is one of many scattered throughout the book, some better substantiated and more gracefully expressed than others. Certainly White developed close relationships with her writers and provided them with intelligent appreciation, whether they were recognized writers or young college students. William Shawn, who succeeded Ross as editor of the *New Yorker*, paid her this tribute, "Numberless writers have written better because of what you were able to give them, and many editors, including me, have been able to be of more service to writers and artists because of what you have taught them."

The biography contains many such illuminating quotations from letters both to and from White. Particularly interesting are the views of herself that she included in correspondence with family and friends. More citations from her published work would have been helpful. Admittedly, she made her greatest contributions as an editor, but she also wrote columns and letters for the *New Yorker*. Davis offers very few samples of that work.

Using no note numbers in the text, the book lists sources by page, with key words from quotations to identify them. This makes for easier reading but can be confusing when one tries to sort out references. A nice selection of photographs is included, as well as an index.

. . . Sherilyn Cox Bennion
Humboldt State University

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SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS: A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT'S MEMOIRS FROM ROOSEVELT TO REAGAN.
By Henry Brandon.
• Atheneum
• 1988, 432 pp.
• $19.95, Cloth

HENRY BRANDON, who plied Washington thirty-five years for *The Sunday Times* of London, has few matches in American journalism history for methodically cultivating sources. In 1949, when his U.S. assignment became permanent and he needed a place to live, Brandon chose a neighborhood that would increase the likelihood of his path crossing that of "the mighty." For the same reason, he reveled in his bachelorhood because "the 'spare man' was a vital commodity on the dinner party circuit." His painstaking cultivation of people in power compounded exponentially to include weekends at Dean Acheson's farm, time at the Kennedy villa in Florida, and tennis with Richard Helms. "Social snorkeling," as he calls it, was not Brandon's sole approach to covering Washington, but his mastery of it as a journalistic method was significant in distinguishing his insightful weekly reports in the *Sunday Times*.

In *Special Relationships*, Brandon provides an interpretive chronicle of post-World War II U.S. policy-making. It is no mere rehash. Brandon draws on secret documents not

available when he was reporting major events; on the memoirs of leading figures; and on his own evolving perspective, sharpened by time. Anglo-American relations are illuminated with fresh detail, as when Acheson was irked when Sir Anthony Earl presumed to call him "dear Dean" at their first meeting. On such things swung the "special relationship" between these two countries.

The "special relationships" of Brandon's title operates at several levels. For journalism historians, Brandon's explanations of relations between reporters and sources are rich material for exploring the major shifts in journalistic practices since World War II. Snorkeling, as an example, was among the accepted, even praiseworthy methodologies in the pre-Vietnam, pre-Watergate period, before American journalism became conscious, some might say obsessed, about even the appearance of undue source influence on their stories. In one sense, Brandon was ahead of his time in being sensitive to reporter-source relations. For instance, about his relationship with John Kennedy, he writes: "One way I dealt with this problem was to keep my private and professional relations separate. I never asked the president a professional question at private occasions. Or, whenever I criticized Kennedy or his administration, I never asked myself whether this might end my relationship with him." Although sensitive to the possibility of being jeopardized by snorkeling, Brandon was less worried about appearing biased than about getting stories.

Of similar interest to journalism historians are Brandon's accounts of governments using journalists as couriers, another practice less tolerated today than before journalists began reassessing their methods in the late 1960s. Brandon tells of a 1961 interview in which new attorney general Robert Kennedy communicated through him to the British government. Said Kennedy: "I hope you know we want David Ormsby-Gore as British Ambassador here. You'd better tell your prime minister and your readers."

Brandon relates stories of governments leaning on reporters, himself included, for peeking into foreign situations. In 1962, when Brandon returned from a reporting trip to Cuba, President John Kennedy sent a deputy to his house to debrief him. The president was aware at the time that Cuba was installing Russian ballistic missiles, but he didn't want the Russians to know that he knew, and he didn't want to risk tipping them by having Brandon seen coming to the White House even by a back door. Brandon had information the president found useful even though it was not enough for a story.

Journalism historians also will find fresh material on the emergence of the question-answer format for interview stories. In 1957, five years before Hugh Hefner introduced his polished *Playboy* interviews, Brandon proposed tape-recorded, verbatim interviews to his editor as a way for the print media to compete with the directness of television. The editor's response: "We practice the written word, therefore we cannot print the spoken word in the *Sunday Times*.." Brandon finally prevailed, and his series of interviews with American intellectuals followed.

Brandon's book is primarily a reflective study on his experience covering U.S. foreign policy. Because details on the era's reporting methods are secondary to his main story, Brandon is neither defensive nor apologetic about them. The revelations are peripheral and unintended, which gives them special credibility.

. . . John Vivian
Winona State University

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PROPAGANDA: A PLURALISTIC PERSPECTIVE.
Edited by Ted J. Smith III.
• Praeger.
• 1989, 192 pp.
• $37.95, Cloth

IF WISHES WERE horses, beggars would ride. If scholarly intentions were enough, then this book would comment on propa-

ganda without practicing it. While readers may disagree with the pro-Right slant of some of the essayists, they will appreciate the multidisciplinary approach to theoretical perspectives and the application of propaganda techniques to contemporary situations. In the introduction, Ted J. Smith III explains that he hopes to generate discussion because "propaganda has become inextricably intertwined with political issues and perspectives."

In his chapter, "Propaganda and Order in Modern Society," J. Fred MacDonald suggests that an educated, liberal elite controls the multitude. He notes that popular arts promote cultural values. Artists create a West that never existed by shaping the past into images appealing to the present. Propaganda enables the status quo to solidify power.

On the other hand, Smith worries about the insidious effect of anti-American messages hidden in the news. In his essay, "Propaganda and the Technique of Deception," he accuses journalists of deliberately presenting false information under the guise of news. He claims that reporters promote their ideology at the expense of truth by not vindicating the United States when it is accused of crimes. Smith suggests that readers automatically believe the government is guilty. Ironically, he commits the Marxist intellectual fallacy of assuming that the masses are zombies under the control of the voodoo press. His bizarre comments on relativism miss the point of that intellectual stance. Just because relativists believe values evolve within a cultural context does not mean they accept all perceptions of truth as coequal. Smith does not recognize the difference between respecting diverse points of view and embracing them.

Bob Smith and Roy Godson overlook the cultural conditioning that instills within citizens a sense of national pride and suspicion of anything foreign, especially anything Communist. Occasionally, the authors draw unintentionally humorous conclusions. For example, while repeating Moscow's accusations that American soldiers started the AIDS epidemic, Godson observes: "When folded the abstract designs on each page depict soldiers (apparently American) engaged in sexual acts with each other." Apparently, behind the iron curtain even pornography is harnessed to pull the state's ideological freight!

The authors discuss the subject eruditely but lean, if not tip over, to the Right. For example, although J. Michael Hogan and David Olsen raise valid concerns about the one-sided nature of "The Rhetoric of 'Nuclear Education'" as it is articulated in the National Education Association's *Choices* program, they spoil their analysis by concluding that anyone who criticizes the government is a cynic. Instead of demoralizing youth, drawing up petitions, writing letters, and testifying before committees give them lessons in democratic participation, Hogan and Olsen argue. Not everyone who supports the nuclear freeze approves of *Choices*. Hogan and Olsen dilute their strongest argument, that descriptions of the victims of nuclear bombings frighten children, by lamenting the lack of depictions of atrocities suffered by prisoners of war.

The best essay in the book is "Smoke and Mirrors: A Confirmation of Jacques Ellul's Theory of Information Use in Propaganda" because Stanley B. Cunningham presents telling examples from the world of tobacco advertisements to illustrate the famous philosopher's belief that information and propaganda intersect.

Like many anthologies, the book lacks an integrating focus. Once done with the introduction, one may read the chapters in any order. The intellectual flaw, which may be unavoidable in such a treatise, is the stale parade of political justifications. Nevertheless, the essays raise intriguing questions about information, ideology, and democracy. No doubt *Propaganda: A Pluralistic Perspective* would provoke debates on the relationship between communication and truth in courses in mass communication, rhetoric, history,

political science, and American studies.

. . . Paulette D Kilmer
University of Missouri

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BODY LOVE: THE AMAZING CAREER OF BERNARR MACFADDEN.
By William R. Hunt.
• Bowling Green State University Popular Press
• 1989, 223 pp.
• $35.95, Cloth; $18.95, Paper

MOST NOTABLE journalists, as figures in the public eye, have at times found themselves the objects of criticism, but how many have been variously characterized as a faddist inclined to crackpot notions, a cult leader with paranoid delusions, a gross vulgarian, the "apostle of the corporeal," and "the bare torso king"?

What successful magazine publisher with some seventy-five books to his credit, other than Bernarr Macfadden, would have been pilloried by H.L. Mencken as an arrogant hillbilly possessed of a vast and cocksure ignorance? Macfadden, who had a California mountain named after him; who tried to elevate strength and health to the status of a religion, calling it Cosmotarianism; who invented a device called, unbelievably, the Wimpus to deal with male impotence; who considered all physicians to be money-hungry quacks and himself the possessor of limitless knowledge about the human body and its functions, was truly one of a kind. His early feats of strength and his long career of flexing and posing and telling the rest of America how to grow strong and improve their lives, accounts for the nickname *Time* gave him—"Body-love Macfadden," which in turn accounts for the title of this book.

In its 223 pages writer William R. Hunt, whose earlier books have dealt mainly with Alaska and the Arctic, takes an unbiased look at this flamboyant figure of the magazine and tabloid newspaper world of the early to mid-twentieth century.

Why another Macfadden biography when four already existed? The answer is that three of the four were by Macfadden "insiders": Clement Wood, who was an employee; Fulton Oursler, one of Macfadden's top executives; and Oursler's wife Grace. All three varied among the obsequious, the worshipful, and the respectful. The fourth and most recent of these biographies (1953), by ex-wife number three Mary and former *New York Graphic* editor Emile Gauvreau, was weighted to the other side, making fun of the aging muscle man and health fanatic, as its title, *Dumbbells and Carrot Strips*, indicates. Macfadden, his $30 million fortune in ruins and beset for back alimony by ex-wife number four, died two years after its publication.

Hunt provides a more balanced assessment of Macfadden's life and work, and does it in a readable style that can be enjoyed by both scholars and more general readers. The Bowling Green State University Popular Press has done a creditable job of producing the book, which includes twenty-four pages of illustrations. This reviewer's only complaints are that a number of pages popped out of the binding, and that the index might have been a bit more extensive.

Hunt's well-researched account shows the writer's admiration for this singular man's energy and audacity, but at the same time seems to agree with the American Medical Association's comment that Macfadden was primarily "someone with something to sell."

. . . Sam G. Riley
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

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JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA.
By Hazel Dicken-Garcia.
• University of Wisconsin Press
• 1989, 352 pp.
• $42.50, Cloth; $14.50, Paper

HAZEL DICKEN-GARCIA of the University of Minnesota has offered a sweeping reading of nineteenth-century journalism history in *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*. The focus in this reading is an analysis of

standards as understood by journalists and critics. Standards are understood to be rooted in the structure and role of the press and in the practices of journalism, which are in turn rooted in culture; culture is, in turn, understood broadly to include ideas, technology, economic, political, social, and value structures. Dicken-Garcia is careful to distinguish her project from a study of ethics, which she describes as dealing with broader and less mutable values. In an interesting passage, she compares the current focus of journalism ethics with the "great person" view of history in that both emphasize individual agency. In contrast, she calls for and employs a structural approach to standards.

Within this conceptual framework, Dicken-Garcia proposes a three-phase outline of press development for the nineteenth century. In each phase, shifts in "role" are accompanied by shifts in content and structure. In the first phase—to 1830—the role was political, the content idea-centered, and the structure printer-dominated (presumably); in the second phase—1830 to the Civil War—the role was informational, the content event-centered, and the structure editor-dominated; in the third phase—to 1900—the role was business-centered, the content story-centered, and the structure journalist-centered. While this sketch makes Dicken-Garcia's outline seem too rigidly drawn, she is careful in the book not to overstate the divergences between phases, noting that they overlapped and that certain elements persisted—for instance, she correctly underscores the persistence of partisanism throughout the nineteenth century.

Dicken-Garcia emphasizes cultural causality, but in a very broad sense. Take, for instance, her discussion of the journalistic changes of the Civil War era, which featured the disruption of partisanism, the formation of a news habit among a reading public, the rise of reporting as an occupation, and the rise of wire reporting, along with the development of at least one new style of reporting, the inverted pyramid. These changes, while suggested by "culture," were prompted by exigency.

The conceptual framework and historical outline occupy the book's first hundred pages. The real heart of Dicken-Garcia's research is in chapters 4 through 7, where she delves into primary material from journalists and critics. The best material is from the post-Civil War years, when criticism became more abundant and more specific as newspapers became more complicated and less well understood by the public. The themes emphasized in this criticism included some that are strikingly modern—the profit motive and reliance on advertising; trivialization; invasion of privacy; "personal" journalism; and sensationalism, a word she finds first used in 1869. The agreed-upon standard that emerged from all of this was responsibility. (Also interesting in this chapter were early calls for journalism education.)

Any reader of a book with this scope will find things with which to be dissatisfied. I was disturbed by several features. First was an assumption of homogeneity on several levels. Dicken-Garcia talks about a homogeneous press, public, and society, not allowing for classes of newspapers, segmented audiences, and a society divided by class, race, region, gender, religion, and ethnicity. For instance, her sample of newspapers in chapter 3 is limited to papers with at least a ten-year record of continuous publication or a position among the top-ten circulation leaders. She acknowledges that this will introduce a bias toward eastern urban papers, and in fact for 1800–10, one of her sample periods, she uses almost exclusively New England Federalist papers. She implies that these papers represent "the press," but begs the question whether "the press" was an actual entity (though elsewhere she notes that the press was not fully an institution until the latter nineteenth century). I have argued elsewhere that the newspaper history of the nineteenth century makes more sense if one divides the press into classes of newspapers with different

values, functions, structures, and audiences. Dicken-Garcia divides the press by period, but balks at divisions within periods.

A second troubling absence involves ideology. Dicken-Garcia declines to use the word *ideology*, perhaps because it is so heavily freighted. But by placing "standards" on the cusp of practices and values she inevitably implicates ideologies. As a result of her reluctance to talk about ideologies, she tends to list values in criticism rather than presenting them as features of a coherent whole. Also missing is ideology's companion, "utopia." Surprisingly, there is little in the book about visions of an ideal press.

I was troubled by the absence of some of the more familiar historical debates on specific ideologies—Revolutionary republicanism, artisanal republicanism, Free Labor, and the like, some of which bear directly on issues that Dicken-Garcia introduces. For instance, she quotes considerable material from the Federalist press that indicates an absolute intolerance of political opposition but attributes it to "inexperience," an odd assertion, since she argues that partisanism had been a constant habit of U.S. newspapers since the Stamp Act Crisis in 1765. A better explanation can be made by referring to underlying political ideological structures, specifically the persistence of Revolutionary republicanism and a congruent ideology of impartiality (which is dealt with much later, in chapter 4, where it is treated as an eighteenth-century aberration).

Perhaps it is reluctance to tread in the minefield of ideology that leads Dicken-Garcia to limit her sources of press criticism to published books and magazine articles, a third serious deficiency. Excluded from discussion were private journals and correspondence, public addresses, courtroom arguments, legislative debates, and material on related issues, like treatises on politics. Neglected are public figures like Thomas Jefferson, commentators like Frances Trollope and Alexis de Tocqueville, movements like anti-masonry and abolitionism, and reformers and radicals like Josiah Warren, to mention a few from just the early part of the century. Indeed, so restricted is the pool of press criticism that Dicken-Garcia cites only half a dozen pieces from critics before 1850.

Also disturbing, fourth, is the author's refusal to ask "who the critics were." Surely the situation and agenda of the author are crucial items in the interpretation of any text of press criticism.

Journalistic Standards is a flawed text, then, but it addresses crucial concerns and draws on important and often ignored sources. It will, one hopes, draw attention to the significance of history in contemporary discussions of journalism ethics and practices.

. . . *John Nerone*
University of Illinois

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LIBEL AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT: LEGAL HISTORY AND PRACTICE IN PRINT AND BROADCASTING.
By Richard Labunski.
• Transaction Publishers
• 1989, 327 pp.
• $29.95, Cloth; $18.95, Paper

AS RICHARD LABUNSKI illustrates quite clearly, libel law has become such a morass that litigating a libel case is "sheer madness" for everyone involved. Unfortunately, however, *Libel and the First Amendment* offers little guidance for students and practitioners of the law trying to make sense of that morass.

This book is well-written, and it offers both an interesting discussion of the theoretical foundations for the actual malice defense in libel law and a useful summary of possible solutions to the current problem of libel law. However, it proffers unsupported and erroneous assumptions about the media and the courts and makes an ill-conceived and unconvincing effort to establish broadcasting as a unique area of libel law.

The best part of this book, and it's a part worth reading, is its discussion of the theoretical foundations for the actual malice de-

fense against libel, created by the U.S. Supreme Court in *New York Times v. Sullivan* in 1964. Labunski argues persuasively that the Court set out to protect the "uninhibited, robust, and wide-open" discussion of public issues but strayed from that course to instead protect reporting about public people. That switch, he argues, means that the media today have greater constitutional protection when writing about the private lives of public people than they do when writing about private people who unintentionally become involved in public controversies. Therefore, he concludes, neither the news reporting on public issues nor public individuals' reputations are adequately protected.

Labunski's explanations for why that it is so are poorly substantiated and sometimes wrong, however. For example, throughout his book, which first appeared in hardcover in 1987, Labunski portrays the U.S. Supreme Court as demonstrating "an unashamed hostility to the First Amendment claims of journalists." Labunski is particularly harsh in his evaluation of the Burger Court, which he says gave those who cared about the First Amendment "little they could feel positive about." Such evaluations of the Burger Court were common during the mid-1970s. By the end of the decade, however, most journalists and legal scholars had concluded that the Burger Court was not, in fact, hostile to the First Amendment. Although the Burger Court was not receptive to media requests for expanded First Amendment rights in areas such as the protection of confidential sources and protection against newsroom searches, the Court's record clearly supports the conclusion that it did not seriously undermine the First Amendment protections established by the Warren Court a decade earlier. Labunski is considerably more convincing when he argues that the current libel law fails to protect the media adequately in part because it is too complicated for lower court judges and juries to understand; they therefore frequently fail to to apply the actual malice test as the Supreme Court intended. However, he also expresses a distrust of the motives of the state and lower federal courts that lacks support.

Another valuable part of *Libel and the First Amendment* is Labunski's summary of possible solutions to the current problems of libel law. While nothing on the list is new, this compilation is worth a look. He suggests, for example, the use of legislative remedies like retraction statutes and statutes of limitations and the use of judicial controls over the unwieldy discovery process. The latter constitutes a tremendous burden on libel defendants.

A major premise of this book, and its most obvious flaw, is Labunski's contention that broadcasting presents different libel problems than the print media and that broadcasting therefore is "particularly vulnerable to libel suits." Labunski's lengthy discussion of this point merely detracts from his book because the arguments are largely anecdotal and, even allowing for that, unconvincing. For example, Labunski suggests that a broadcast reporter might be more interested in obtaining an investigative story to include on his audition tape than in exposing corruption. Therefore, Labunski says, the broadcast reporter may not care whether his employer is sued for libel as a result of his work. According to Labunski, broadcast reporters are a nomadic lot likely to move on before the case gets to court. No doubt that scenario has been played out by someone, somewhere, sometime. But it's not typical of broadcast journalists and certainly does not distinguish broadcast journalists from print reporters. The latter have their own professional ambitions and ethical lapses. Also, the scenario has no clear connection to the legal issues raised in the book or the case law, which, in fact, suggests that broadcasting presents few unique libel problems.

Labunski's lengthy discussion of broadcasting also adds to the books organizational problems. Labunski waits far too long—for more than a

hundred pages—before letting the reader know where the book is headed and what arguments are being made.

The strength of this book is its core, the discussion of the theoretical and practical rationales for the creation and expansion of the actual malice defense against libel suits. The weakness of this book is that Labunski wanders too far from that core.

. . . *Cathy Packer*
University of North Carolina

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FROM HITLER TO HEIMAT: THE RETURN OF HISTORY AS FILM.
By Anton Kaes.
• Harvard University Press
• 1989, 272 pp.
• $25, Cloth

FROM HITLER TO Heimat is a significant work of scholarship in film history that might be viewed as a "sequel" to Siegfried Kracauer's 1947 work, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*. While Kracauer studied aspects of German film prior to World War II, Kaes concentrates on post-war German cinema. Kracauer's work, for all its shortcomings, remains the most familiar text documenting the political, social, and cultural changes in Germany leading to the establishment of a Nazi state as reflected in German film. The present work examines the effects of the World War II experience of Germany on post-war German filmmaking.

Kaes specifically addresses the problems faced by German filmmakers in their attempts to come to grips with residual guilt and fear stemming from the experience of Hitler and the holocaust. This guilt and fear, as Kaes points out, has been largely hidden within German society, but has tended to result in self-imposed repression of film content until this collective "amnesia" was challenged in the New German Cinema in the 1970s. The majority of Kaes's text consists of analysis of five important German films in this vein, produced in the 1970s and 1980s. These are Hans Jurgen Syberberg's *Hitler, a Film from Germany* (1977), Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *The Marriage of Maria Braun* (1978), Alexander Kluge's *The Patriot* (1979), Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Germany, Pale Mother* (1980), and Edgar Reitz's *Heimat* (1984). These are films that have "challenged the existing amnesia as well as the repression of the past."

Discussion of these films is preceded by a synopsis of German film history after the war. The author identifies several periods of post-war German film: the period of denazification immediately after the war, which was followed by an attempt to forget the past during the Cold War, the Young German Film movement of the 1960s, which challenged Cold War assumptions about film content, and finally the New German Cinema, which arose in the mid-1970s. The response of the German people to frank filmic treatment of the Nazi era is further delineated by analysis of the German television premiere of the American mini-series "Holocaust" in 1979. This historical discussion is interestingly written and well-researched.

Kaes's account is not perfect, however. As an English adaptation of a German book—*Deutschlandbilder: Die Wiederkehr der Geschichte als Film—From Hitler to Heimat* sometimes refers to aspects of German culture and history that may be unfamiliar to the average non-German reader. Further, the book is sometimes a bit disjointed. The author occasionally interjects discussions that, although well-developed and interesting, are quite tangential.

The reader may be disappointed that few photographs from the films discussed are provided: only one per chapter, each from a different film. On the positive side, however, an extensive note section guides the reader to materials for further study. The author also suggests sources for obtaining copies of the major films discussed.

From Hitler to Heimat will prove to be a useful adjunct to German cinema studies as an able analysis of treatment of the German World War II experi-

ence within post-war German film.

... Steven Phipps
Indiana-Purdue University at Fort Wayne

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POLITICAL CENSORSHIP OF THE ARTS AND THE PRESS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE.
By Robert Justin Goldstein.
• St. Martin's Press
• 1989, 256 pp.
• $35, Cloth

ONE OF THE challenges of teaching journalism history these days is that the units in our courses keep expanding. In his new book, *Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Robert Justin Goldstein has given a healthy shove to the boundaries of our unit on government controls. First he takes us beyond our parochial concentration on events in the United States and Fredrick Siebert's England—a journey, I would argue, we are going to have to make more and more frequently if we are to present a coherent picture of the history of journalism. Then Goldstein demands that we open our ears to the cries of non-journalists—the caricaturists, playwrights, librettists, and filmmakers who also served in the struggle for freedom of expression.

The book emphasizes an important point: the extent to which censorship was motivated by fear of the masses and the extent to which its lifting in nineteenth-century Europe came after the ruling classes were satisfied that the means of information would be in safely middle-class hands. Otherwise Goldstein, a professor of political science at Oakland University, tends to skimp on the analysis. His strength is in his compilations of anecdotes and quotations. He has scoured all the right sources on nineteenth-century European newspapers for the most telling and lively material on press controls. The Spanish dictator General Ramon Narvaez is quoted, for example, suggesting that "it is not enough to confiscate papers; to finish with bad newspapers you must kill all the journalists." Karl Marx makes the now ironic argument that "a free press is the omnipresent open eye of the spirit of the people."

However, the most original chapters of Goldstein's book, at least from the perspective of a journalism historian, are his discussions of political controls on drawings, plays, operas and films. In most European countries, censorship of these forms of communication—more visual and therefore perhaps more accessible to the uneducated—long outlived prior restraints on newspapers. "Caricatures," Goldstein writes, "were subjected to prior censorship for all or part of the nineteenth century in every major European country except Britain." A censor forced one Russian playwright to change almost the entire plot of a play because, among other transgressions, it included "indecent criticism of costume balls." Mozart's *The Magic Flute* was banned in Austria "on the grounds that its favorable depiction of a noble brotherhood based on virtue rather than birth amounted to revolutionary propaganda." French films were restricted from mentioning the Dreyfus affair from 1899 to 1950.

In many ways this censorship failed. Laws were evaded by the appointment of special editors whose sole duty was to sit out jail terms, by renaming banned newspapers (*Pravda* appeared under eight different names in Russia before 1914), and by the use of "Aesopian language." (A discussion of a classroom with all the windows shut might, for example, serve as a sly way of attacking the political situation in Russia in 1901.) Ideas and opinions managed to spread. Old regimes eventually crumbled.

On the other hand, many voices were stilled, many messages tempered. "What matters is not what the censor does to what I have written," said Tolstoy, "but to what I might have written." The cost may have been artistic as much as political. "Censorship controls," Goldstein argues, "largely explain the general lack of realistic drama and opera in nineteenth-century Europe, as

well as the similarly anodyne quality of most works of journalism and caricature before 1870." As late as 1937 in Britain, the president of the Board of Film Censors could say, "We may take pride in observing that there is not a single film showing in London today which deals with any of the burning questions of the day."

Despite recent changes in the world, our unit on government controls retains its relevance. The battle for free discussion of flammable question has not entirely ended—not in Eastern Europe, not in Britain, not in the America of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. And it is interesting that this book was printed for St. Martin's Press in, of all places, the People's Republic of China.

. . . Mitchell Stephens
New York University

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***THE STARS AND STRIPES*: THE EARLY YEARS.**
By Ken Zumwalt.
• Eakin Press
• 1989, 295 pp.
• $16.95, Cloth

THE FREE PRESS and the professional military are natural opponents, even when both are run by people born in the land of the free and the home of the brave. This history of the *Stars and Stripes* in World War II and after is thus a story of recurrent conflict between news people and military officers who were used to telling people what to do, not to reading "bad" news written by mere corporals and privates.

Press freedom is only one aspect of Zumwalt's entertaining history of the reporting, writing, and production of this famous newspaper in its many different editions. His account is not a dry, institutional outline, replete with statistics, but for the most part a collection of stories that are sometimes comic, sometimes sad, and sometimes even heroic.

Zumwalt is probably better qualified to tell this tale than anyone, for he served on various editions of the *Stars and Stripes* from 1944 to 1955 and was the managing editor of several editions of the paper. Thus many of his anecdotes are of events experienced first hand or told him by people he knew rather than culled from old memoirs.

Zumwalt served only on European editions, and this book is thereby focused on the *Stars and Stripes* in the European theater, which is where the paper flourished best, anyway. Its counterpart in the Pacific, the *Daily Pacifican*, suffered the fate that always hangs over a newspaper whose staff members are under military discipline. Despite the support of the army's chief, General George C. Marshall, for the concept of press freedom, the army fired its entire twenty-two-man staff, including its officer in charge, after accusing it of distorting the news, and transferred them into regular infantry units. The young lieutenant, George W. Cornell, survived, joined the Associated Press after the war, and became, in time, the AP's much-honored religion writer.

Cornell's name is only one of a long list of people who went from the *Stars and Stripes* to eminent positions in American journalism. Perhaps no one quite matched the distinctions of a *Stripes* editor from World War I, Harold Ross, the founding editor of the *New Yorker* magazine, but World War II and the years beyond supplied cartoonist Bill Mauldin, who has won two Pulitzer Prizes, television commentator Andy Rooney, newspaper editor and publisher Creed Black, Otto Friedrich of *Time*, William R. Frye of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Louis Rukeyser of *Wall Street Week*, and Peter Lisagore of television news—to select only a few of the many hundreds of names. Zumwalt supplies them all, incidentally, in a handy appendix.

There are some minor flaws. The famous German bomber, the JU-88, is identified as a fighter, and Zumwalt unaccountably uses an expression that was a redundant no-no among seasoned soldiers: "G.I. Issue." For the uninitiated, that would mean "Government Issue Issue."

On a larger scale, it is important to remember that the book is an anecdotal rather than scholarly

treatment of its subject. Therefore it would be wise to suspect that some of the strange and amusing incidents that its author reconstructs from someone else's accounts may be subject to the "improving" work of distant memory. Nevertheless, the *Stars and Stripes* is a helpful and often diverting contribution to the history of a contradictory time—when a section of the press often had to struggle to preserve its freedom from some of the leaders in the military struggle against totalitarianism. As Pogo put it, "We have met the enemy, and they is us."

. . . Edward A. Nickerson
University of Delaware

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COMPARING BROADCAST SYSTEMS: THE EXPERIENCES OF SIX INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS.
By Donald R. Browne.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1989, 447 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

THESE ARE fascinating times for anyone wishing to speculate on the effects of political change on international broadcasting. For this reason alone, *Comparing Broadcast Systems* provides an excellent review of developments for the historical explorer—a comparative point of departure for future travels and a superior job of summarizing the trek to date. And who better to serve as guide? Don Browne is acknowledged by many as the "Indiana Jones" of international broadcasting scholarship. More than one of us, in travels abroad, has learned that Dr. Browne has just visited this or that broadcast facility, just interviewed the staff, and investigated current policies and attitudes. This volume adds to the author's extensive field efforts since it draws on personal contacts and interviews in a variety of locales, as well as his extensive earlier published research.

The book was written to aid understanding of broadcasting by considering five fundamental factors and their manner of influence in the experience of six nations. The factors—geography, demography/linguistics, economy, culture, and politics—interact in varying degrees, and Browne catalogues the nature of each of the common denominators in a prelude to dealing with each nation. Under "geography," for example, he considers the role of population distribution and location, plus the attitudes held concerning national unity versus regional identity among members of the population. Economic factors and industrialization are considered within the context of a field requiring some degree of expense. Browne describes how economic philosophy and levels of prosperity have helped to dictate progress, but, at the same time, he points out that some poor nations have achieved a moderate level of success.

Browne examines the effects of the workplace and offers insight on the role culture and cultural groups play in forming a "national character" through various systems of broadcasting. In the first country offered for examination, he describes how French preoccupation with "proper" language and the promotion of French culture colors all else done in that system. Dutch broadcasting maintains strong ties to certain "pillar" groups, while German television standards are currently coming under fire because of their sex role stereotyping—for instance, presenting a view of housewives as always bending over backwards to please their grumpy husbands. Soviet entertainment programming operates, of course, under different ideological standards, with a recurring emphasis on the progressive nature of socialism and the need to present positive role models or "heroes" reflecting that philosophy. Japanese programming is remarkably similar to the U.S.'s except in broadcast journalism, in which it tends to shy away from confrontation.

In a concluding section Browne laments the worrisome prospect that some elements of the public in many countries, especially the poor segments of society, might be deprived of the material they previously enjoyed. The author ends with "A Final Word on Behalf of History," in which he points to a num-

ber of examples showing that the history of broadcasting is likely to repeat itself in many ways. For this reason alone, this book is instructive.

. . . Michael D. Murray
Univ. of Missouri-St Louis

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THE YELLOW KIDS: FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN THE HEYDAY OF YELLOW JOURNALISM.
By Joyce Milton.
• Harper and Row
• 1989, 412 pp.
• $22.95, Cloth

"YELLOW" REPORTING, that late nineteenth-century journalistic zeitgeist, periodically fascinates historians like a corner traffic accident mesmerizes school children on summer vacation. Joyce Milton's *The Yellow Kids* provides a delightful, informative account of journalistic bravado and skulduggery in the halcyon days of Hearst and Pulitzer. In the center ring, of course, resides the tragicomedy that posed as history: the Spanish-American War, precipitated by the sinking of the *Maine*.

Co-author of the controversial 1983 book *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth*, Milton begins by dusting off the old chestnut (popularized by Orson Welles in *Citizen Kane*), that William Randolph Hearst ordered the Spanish-American War C.O.D.: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war." Milton notes dutifully that the putative cable to Richard Harding Davis and Frederic Remington is not susceptible to documentary proof.

The author then reprises the birth of "the journalism that acts" as the spiritual descendent of the "Yellow Kid," a street-urchin character in the popular cartoon "Hogan's Alley." The "yellow kids" who worked for Pulitzer's *New York World* and Hearst's *New York Journal* were, by and large, the hustling, hard-drinking bravura figures that some correspondents only posed as in later wars. Richard Harding Davis, Murat Halstead, Sylvester (Harry) Scovel, George Rea, Stephen Crane, Cora Taylor, James Creelman, Nellie Bly, Arthur Brisbane, and Clarke Musgrave emerge as the mostly agnostic prodigal sons of staid Protestant ministers.

Milton's book is well researched (she relies on the papers of a half dozen libraries and archives) and is written with the wit, scenic construction, and pacing of an Agatha Christie or Dorothy Sayers mystery. The 1890s were a period of tremendous change in the newspaper industry. Immigrant classes flooded eastern seaboard cities and a new, less complex, more sensational newspaper followed. Rising expenses combined with new technologies only fueled the competition for tens of thousands of new readers. Indeed, a surge of four hundred thousand in circulation in one week and forty editions per day were not unknown.

Milton explains that whether or not the war was "created" is likely beside the point since once underway it fit the journalistic yellow age like a kidskin glove does a hand. In an age when reporters infiltrated burglary rings, and exposed corruption and cruelty in prisons and mental institutions, the war provided an exotic locale for an opera bouffe military production. While yellow reporters sometimes were stock commedia dell'arte figures in a low vaudeville, they also faced great danger, constant deadlines, disease, and famine. (Milton notes the thankless espionage work performed by correspondents for the U.S. Navy.)

Although *The Yellow Kids* introduces a cast of at least two or three score, Milton concentrates on the careers of Pulitzer, Hearst, Davis, Brisbane, Crane, and Cora Taylor, Crane's lover and a retired brothel proprietor who later became a pioneering war correspondent). However, the author casts the biggest spotlight on little-known Harry Scovel, a roistering engineer turned *World* reporter who may or may not have slapped the face of U.S. Fifth Army Gen. William R. Shafter during a transfer-of-power ceremony in Santiago after the war.

The Yellow Kids is not airtight scholarship. Milton

sometimes expands characters when she should contract them, and blurs some themes and issues when she should focus them. For instance, she neglects to place the yellow war correspondents in any firm historical context; the impact that Civil War reporting had on the reporters covering the Spanish-American War is not discussed. Too, Milton only partially explores the McKinley administration's efforts to ensure patriotic reporting of the war and, conceptually, she is vague on the larger meaning of the experiences she relates.

If a little weak in focus and theoretical development, *The Yellow Kids* is nonetheless essential reading for press scholars and historians. Although targeted at a diverse audience, academicians will find the book well indexed with adequate reference notes and a good bibliography.

. . . John F. Neville
University of Minnesota

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HIGHBROW/LOWBROW: THE EMERGENCE OF CULTURAL HIERARCHY IN AMERICA.
By Lawrence W. Levine.
• Harvard University Press
• 1988, 306 pp.
• $25, Cloth

TWO ROGUES, passing themselves off to Huck Finn as a duke and a king, raise money by performing Shakespearean scenes in Mark Twain's small Mississippi River towns. Both the readers of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and the fictional viewers of the ruffians' performances recognized Shakespearean references and analogies. Nineteenth century American performers widely quoted from Shakespeare's work, expecting their audiences to be familiar with the bard's plays, which were widely quoted and parodied.

With the Huck Finn example, Lawrence W. Levine begins his opening essay on the nineteenth century division of American culture into high and low culture. Shakespeare's plays, Levine writes, "had meaning to a nation that placed the individual at the center of the universe and personalized the large questions of the day."

While Shakespeare blossomed in theaters from New England to the smallest frontier town, the bard's popularity provided no assurance of reverence. Such parodies as "Milius Sneezer," "Roamy-E-Owe and Julie-Ate," "Hamlet and Egglet," as well as serious Shakespearean productions, often shared the stage with magicians, dancers, singers, acrobats, minstrels, and comics. By the end of the century, however, an artificial division removed Shakespeare from everyday discussion to the province of elites. Common folk were no longer expected to enjoy serious art. Levine's analysis of Shakespeare's transition from popular to elite icon constitutes the first of three essays in this book.

The second essay applies a similar analysis to opera and other music. While opera was accessible to large audiences throughout the century, popular performers could augment the original scores with patriotic tunes such as "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia." Similarly, art museums were eclectic, collecting the finest paintings as well as artifacts of natural history. Levine's third essay employs some social history. The separation of high and low art became so pervasive that planners of Central Park even debated whether to allow a certain class of visitors out of fear that certain groups could not appreciate its beauty.

Hierarchical categories applied to culture on the eve of the twentieth century came from racial and social distinctions. "'Highbrow,' first used in the 1880s to describe intellectual or aesthetic superiority, and 'lowbrow,' first used shortly after 1900 to mean someone or something neither 'highly intellectual' nor 'aesthetically refined,' were derived from the phrenological terms 'highbrowed' and 'lowbrowed,' which were prominently featured in the nineteenth-century practice of determining racial types and intelligence by measuring cranial shapes and capacities." In this Darwinian age, low brows were associated with apes, and the increas-

ing size of one's brow indicated greater intelligence. Among racial groups, Caucasians had the highest brows.

In his prologue, Levine says he began raising questions about cultural hierarchy after hearing scholars of popular culture include disclaimers about how their subjects aren't serious artists. In his epilogue, he sees "a growing cultural eclecticism and flexibility" that will again integrate the levels of art. For example, the same person can be interested in rock, classical, and rhythm-and-blues music.

Levine's subject and the evidence are so broad that contrary evidence could be introduced for some issues and time periods. Levine helps such a case by lacking a clear chronology—evidence to support his argument about the early nineteenth century could come from the 1860s, for example. Nevertheless, his case about the emerging cultural hierarchy remains strongly buttressed. At the same time, Levine's analysis cries out for political and social perspectives. What economic, political, intellectual, social, and cultural forces contributed to this emerging hierarchy? Although these questions await subsequent analyses, Levine has provided provocative ideas and a valuable place to start.

. . .William E. Huntzicker
University of Minnesota

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LA PRENSA: THE REPUBLIC OF PAPER.
By Jaime Chamorro Cardenal.
• Freedom House
• 1989, 206 pp.
• $22.95, Cloth; $9.95, Paper

NEWS COVERAGE OF THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION.
By Joshua Muravchik.
• American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy
• 1988, 128 pp.
• $21.75, Cloth; $9.75, Paper

TWO RECENT BOOKS are supposed to help us understand the role of the press during the Sandinista revolution. One glorifies the efforts of the Nicaraguan newspaper, *La Prensa* and bitterly attacks the Sandinista program. The other is a scathing analysis of U.S. newspaper coverage.

Jaime Chamorro Cardenal tells of the struggle by *La Prensa* editors to fight the brutality of the Somoza dictatorship and later the harassment of the Sandinistas. Chamorro, the son of *La Prensa*'s founder and the brother of Pedro Jaoquin Chamorro, Jr. (assassinated by Somoza's agent thugs in 1978), has spent thirty years at the paper, including the last six as editor-in-chief.

Chamorro contends that Nicaraguans suffered equally under Somoza's National Guard and the Sandinistas' political and military establishment. He fully condemns the Ortega brothers and their Nicaraguan allies, claiming they lied about their intention to establish democratic systems and stifled every attempt by *La Prensa* to expose their hypocrisy. Joshua Muravchik analyzes Sandinista political motives and concludes that the bulk of the U.S. foreign press corps failed to report them impartially from July 1978 to July 1980. In other words, reporters were duped by Communists who threatened our national security when they assumed power on 19 July 1979.

Muravchik, a resident scholar at the institute, is part of a network that includes Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Richard N. Perle, Ben J. Wattenberg, and others who frequently find the news media to be permissive when describing left-wing political movements.

Much of Chamorro's book is an all-out effort to ridicule the Sandinistas, but one of its historical contributions is his view of why part of his family split from the Sandinista Front. This includes his sister-in-law Violeta, the new president of Nicaragua. The other half of his family, those supporting the Sandinistas, would violently disagree with his disregard of their contributions and the effects of the U.S.-sponsored Contra war on Nicaraguan society. Nevertheless, he uses first-person references throughout to make a compelling argument to those unfamiliar with the history of U.S. involvement in the region. It should be added that Chamorro's critics have contended that he received

assistance in preparing his manuscript from U.S. intelligence agents. To date this has not been documented, but the reader should be aware of the controversy.

Muravchik's tidy wrap-up from the right wing contains many long quotations from news articles, editorials, and opinion pieces, which are valuable for anyone wishing to analyze the performance of top foreign correspondents and commentators. In his interpretation of these selected quotes, he indicts some well-known reporters and thinkers. Unlike Chamorro's book, this one is not indexed.

Students examining media coverage of the Sandinista years (1981 to present) obviously need to put books (and reviews) like these in context. The quality of *La Prensa*'s journalism has been evaluated most thoroughly in several publications by John S. Nichols of Pennsylvania State University, nationally recognized for his expertise. Of importance here is how *La Prensa* became mythicized as a symbol of a free and impartial press while actually it was no less partisan than the Sandinista-controlled newspapers and distorted or ignored the news with ease. The major mistake by those on either flank is to assume that the function of journalism is the same everywhere—and that a certain model must be followed.

The key to understanding Nicaragua is to realize that many of the important personalities are related to each other or have known each other for years. This diminishes the spectacle of an East-West conflict and allows the uniqueness of the Nicaraguan revolution to emerge. Fierce feelings of nationalism and anti-imperialism are felt by most citizens—Chamorro makes this clear. Those North Americans who trumpeted the Contra cause were ignorant of this, or tried to hide it. Muravchik complains that U.S. correspondents overrated the Sandinistas, failing to understand that the "true nature" of "Sandinismo" (the spirit and goals of the revolution) was to create a Marxist-Leninist (Communist) state.

Critics on the left protested through the nine years of the Contra war that the same journalists and commentators did not seriously question the "true nature" of the U.S. agenda (to destroy the Sandinistas because their economic and political model might prove to be popular elsewhere in Central America). The critics say these journalists cheated the Nicaraguan government of hard-earned credit for creating significant social reforms, exercising moderation despite the CIA-sponsored atrocities and winning a battle in the World Court against the Reagan Administration. Apparently the journalists pleased no one, not necessarily a good sign.

In order to judge the quality and fairness of coverage, the following publications might be helpful. My contention is that it was easy in the 1980s to get the idea somehow (television news, Ronald Reagan, ill-informed friends) that the Sandinistas were cold-blooded, Red Communists bent on the conquest of Central America. It was more difficult to learn of the odd mixture of Catholicism, socialism and capitalism that makes up the exotic drink "Sandinismo." Every stir of the straw produces a different, unpredictable taste but it's hardly fatal to the U.S. system. One thing is for certain: Ortega's Nicaragua was not intended to be a mirror of Castro's Cuba. Once the lies are discarded, the press analysis can begin.

A mix of references then:

—*Nicaragua v. USA*, the 27 June 1986 judgment of the World Court—the International Court of Justice in the Hague—details the military and paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua. The U.S. was found in breach of international law, violating the sovereignty of Nicaragua by armed attacks and other actions designed to coerce and intimidate the people.

—*Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family*, by Shirley Christian (Random House, 1985). Christian takes the reader from the fall of Somoza to the 1984 elections. Formerly a reporter with the *Miami Herald* and later the *New York Times*,

Christian is extremely critical of the Sandinistas. Her book contains fascinating descriptions of the Sandinista takeover and is an excellent source for basic information about the key players even if one disagrees with its tone and interpretations.

—*Nicaragua Divided: La Prensa and the Chamorro Legacy*, by Patricia Taylor Edmisten (University of West Florida Press, 1990). The best treatment of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro's lifelong battle against the Somozas, his relationships with family members, and his newspaper philosophy. Well balanced when dealing with the Sandinistas and the effects of the U.S.-sponsored Contra war. Based on intimate interviews with Chamorro family members.

—*At War in Nicaragua*, by E. Bradford Burns (Harper and Row, 1987). Burns, a UCLA Latin American Studies professor, charts the U.S. obsession with Nicaragua across fourteen or more invasions and the Contra War.

—*On Trial: Reagan's War Against Nicaragua*, edited by Merlene Dixon (Synthesis Press, 1985). Dixon's book reprints testimony given at the Permanent People's Tribunal in Brussels in 1984, including long personal statements from Nicaraguans and observers. Gives insight not found in newspapers.

—*War and Peace in Central America*, by Frank McNeil (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988). The former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica offers a history of the area and a guide to the U.S. search for a Central American policy. This is also a personal account of how the Iran/Contra scandal unfolded, from the Costa Rican angle, including U.S. efforts to develop a "southern front" in Costa Rica against the Sandinistas. The full story of gunrunning, drug shipments and the LaPenca bombing (the 1984 killing of several journalists) remains to be told, however.

Warning: if using the Chamorro and Muravchik books for reference, use them carefully and combine with other sources. Their propaganda quotient is high.

. . . Michael Emery
California State University, Northridge

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ROUGH ROAD TO GLORY: THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN PRESS SPEAKS OUT ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1875–1925.
By Arlow W. Anderson.
• The Balch Institute Press, Associated University Presses
• 1989, 272 pp.
• $38.50, Cloth

THE NORWEGIAN-American press was a public forum for the eight hundred thousand Norwegians who settled in the United States from mid-nineteenth century onward. About five hundred different newspaper titles appeared during the era of peak immigration, 1877–1906, but most died quickly. The average life span was ten years. A few became important voices in their community, attracted significant readership, and experienced long lives until the tide of immigration slowed in the 1920s and English-speaking descendents began to outnumber the foreign born.

Arlow W. Anderson has made the Norwegian-American press and politics his life work. Now as emeritus professor of history from the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh, he has published his second history of this press. His first, *The Immigrant Takes His Stand* (Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1953), covered the period from 1847 to 1872.

The new book, *Rough Road to Glory*, covers a contentious era in American life, as Anderson observes, but these immigrant editors held fast to their belief in the potential success of the American democratic "experiment." They attempted to elevate their readers' thoughts, to enlighten and stimulate political action and concerns.

Norwegians and their newspapers in America favored the Republican party, says Anderson, but they did endorse some third-party candidates, and editorial opinion was far from monolithic. As Anderson shows in his discussions of political campaigns, international affairs, economic and trade issues, and reform legislation, the Norwegian-

American opinion drawn from about thirty newspapers ranged from traditional Republicanism to socialism and included views of Democrats, the Farmer-Labor party, and Progressives as well as special interests on temperance and Norwegian cultural preservation. There was general enthusiasm for Norwegian independence from Sweden in 1905, but differing views on the form of government preferred. There was general support for temperance but no enthusiasm for prohibition, and there was eventual support for woman suffrage.

On social and legislative issues regarding native Americans, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and women, these editors expressed a range of views from sentimentality toward native Americans and sympathy for the builders of the transcontinental railroad, to clear prejudice toward Jews, Irish, and Italians and little concern about women's rights. They deliberated over the questions of nativism and loyalty in wartime, over immigration quotas and tolerance of foreign-language speaking, and over the merits of the melting pot versus cultural pluralism.

The book's strength is in its presentation of this large overview on several important issues, and in the lucid contextual historical detail offered by Anderson. The reader wishes for a concluding chapter that pulled together these many strands and began to characterize and distinguish more clearly the main lines of thought from that of the fringes. For a reader not well-versed in Norwegian-Americana, there are problems in keeping track of the many editors and newspapers and their central features as they are referred to in a variety of specific issues. Anderson tries to be helpful in a brief summation in the introductory chapter and with data on each paper in the appendix.

The book certainly adds to the growing knowledge about Norwegian-Americans and their political, social and cultural concerns. It will provide other researchers with a helpful background from which to pursue case studies or cross-group thematic investigations of these issues.

. . . Marion T. Marzolf
University of Michigan

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THE REMASCULINIZATION OF AMERICA: GENDER AND THE VIETNAM WAR.
By Susan Jeffords.
• Indiana University Press
• 1989, 240 pp.
• $35, Cloth; $12.50, Paper

SUSAN JEFFORDS'S book is a feminist study of popular literature, film, and non-fiction about American involvement in the war in Vietnam. It argues that accounts of Vietnam—whether fiction or non-fiction—have been an important means of reinstating white male patriarchal values in American culture. In their narratives of Vietnam, Jeffords argues, the media have revitalized traditional values that were seriously challenged by the second wave of feminism, the civil rights and antiwar movements, and government endorsement of civil rights and affirmative action for women and minorities in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. These revisionist narratives, she argues, have superseded the critical interpretations that pervaded popular culture during the Vietnam War.

A work in the deconstructionist tradition of literary criticism, *The Remasculinization of America* analyzes non-fiction journalistic and oral history accounts of Vietnam and Richard Nixon's memoir, *No More Vietnams*, as well as popular films such as the Rambo movies, *Full Metal Jacket*, and *The Deerhunter*, and fiction including Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country*. Although most of the text is devoted to film, Jeffords makes no distinction among the forms in which the accounts appear. She does this because one of her arguments is that the Vietnam narrative itself—perhaps intentionally—confuses fact and fiction and claims that "what was taken for a fact in the (outside) World has an entirely different meaning" in the separate culture of Vietnam.

The remasculinization of

the American culture is, in Jeffords's terms, the "renegotiation and regeneration of the interests, values, and projects of patriarchy" in American society. Remasculinization in the Vietnam literature takes place through the idealized "masculine point of view." In the Vietnam narrative, the reader or viewer is drawn from the realm of the outside critic so familiar in 1960s and 1970s American culture into the point of view of the participant in the war, given the participant's unique definition of fact—who is the enemy, for example. The reader is compelled to focus on the means of war rather than on the questionable ends the war sought to achieve. The narratives celebrate how hard and bravely the soldier fought under especially difficult circumstances, in which the enemy was indistinguishable from the ally and the American government was unwilling to win.

In the masculine point of view, Jeffords argues, the white male soldier is portrayed as the victim of the war and the government's no-win policy. Through male bonding that crosses the boundaries of race and class and continues into post-war civilian life, and through the elimination of women from the realm in which men are self-sufficient, the victimized male is ultimately triumphant in the Vietnam narrative.

In Jeffords's treatment of journalistic accounts along with film and fiction, objectivity isn't even an issue for discussion. All the work, regardless of genre, is seen as contributing to the project of the remasculinization of American culture. From the traditional perspective on journalism as neutral truth-telling, Jeffords's interpretation of journalism as just one more subjective narrative will be jolting, making her feminist analysis of that narrative particularly difficult to accept. Even for those for whom objectivity is not an article of faith, Jeffords's interpretation is unrelentingly feminist. It acknowledges no alternative readings and treats no texts that tell a different story about Vietnam. Nevertheless, Jeffords's view of this work should not be dismissed lightly if one seeks to understand social relations between men and women at the end of the twentieth century.

. . . *Carolyn Stewart Dyer*
University of Iowa

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THE ART OF FACT: CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS OF NONFICTION.
By Barbara Lounsberry.
• Greenwood Press
• 1990, 232 pp.
• $39.95, Cloth

BARBARA Lounsberry, an English professor at the University of Northern Iowa, brings serious literary criticism, which she describes as "largely formalist in cast," to bear on the works of five important writers who have produced a substantial body of literary nonfiction in the last thirty years: Gay Talese, Tom Wolfe, John McPhee, Joan Didion, and Norman Mailer.

Her chapter on Talese is best, perhaps because she was able to interview him. Lounsberry finds a dominant image in almost all of Talese's writing. "One of the strongest themes in Talese's work is his focus on generational legacies," she writes. "Whether writing of bridge builders, celebrities, the Mafia, sexual pioneers, or *The New York Times*, Talese tends to be drawn obsessively toward the parent-child relation."

Each of the other writers has been driven by similar themes, she says. With Wolfe, it is the "vision of an American Jeremiah," that is, one who complains about the decay and disaster he sees around him and attempts to join social criticism with spiritual renewal.

McPhee's work, she writes, has been obsessively concerned with circles and levels: "Circles and spheres, the primary form, are in McPhee's writing from beginning to end." She connects his writing to that of Emerson and Thoreau. Lounsberry correctly predicts that McPhee will turn his attention next to the sea—he has recently completed a book on the U.S. Merchant Marine.

Didion's fascination with light produces her artistic vision. "Didion craves the white light of truth, yet

finds 'truth' most often flickering and insubstantial, a lambent light, a 'shimmer' hard to hold. Like Emily Dickinson, she locates 'truth' obliquely, in the slippage or breakage, between the lines and over the border."

In Mailer's nonfiction Lounsberry concentrates on his use of metaphor and suggests that his choice of nonfiction subjects follows a pattern from birth (*Advertisements For Myself*) through a rite of passage (*Armies of the Night*) to death (*Executioner's Song,*).

Eventually this constant repetition of themes becomes reductionist. Have such important and creative writers been thinking of nothing other than these single themes as they scribbled for thirty years? I asked McPhee what he thought of Lounsberry's thesis that circles have played a central role in his work. McPhee said it was a case of a scholar thinking she knows more about these words than the writer himself. There are circles in his work, and it is an interesting observation, but it does not necessarily help us understand McPhee's works. To do that, you have to closely examine his structures and relate his subjects to his life. To understand Wolfe, you have to understand something about his ability as a reporter. Neither gets mentioned in this book.

Lounsberry can also be faulted for ignoring what these authors have done in the last decade. Most of the books she examines were written before 1980, so her book focuses more on New Journalists than on "contemporary" writers.

Lounsberry goes looking for the psychological and thematic dynamics in literary nonfiction, which strikes me as a noble pursuit. Particularly in the cases of Didion and Talese, Lounsberry draws startling connections between the lives of the writers and their words. Relating Wolfe's work to the Bible, Jonathan Edwards, and the Great Awakening may seem ludicrous at first, a kind of English-professor knee-jerk reaction to a text. But it also elevates Wolfe from his status as "pop sociologist" to the pantheon of letters—something he claimed for himself when he compared *Bonfire of the Vanities* to the serialized novels of Charles Dickens.

Many of Lounsberry's insights have the power of discovery and revelation. Literary nonfiction represents a fertile field for criticism, formal or otherwise. As always, when critics are dealing with *living* writers, their observations are often strengthened by actual contact with the authors and careful attention to their biographies, as demonstrated in this book by the strong chapters on Talese and Didion.

. . . Norman Sims
University of Massachusetts

●

THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF LAW.
By M. Ethan Katsh.
• Oxford University Press
• 1989, 347 pp.
• $38, Cloth

COMPUTERS ARE irreversibly changing the nature and practice of law much as the printing press did centuries ago, M. Ethan Katsh contends in his engaging book, *The Electronic Media and the Transformation of Law*. In the process, as the notion of precedent erodes and non-legal dispute procedures flourish, First Amendment protections will need to be reconceptualized as will specific areas of media law, including privacy, copyright, and obscenity.

Katsh, professor of legal studies at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, writes persuasively about the inevitable transformation of law that is already beginning to occur as electronic media, primarily computers, become commonplace in Western society. Technologically, computers differ from other forms of communication, he says, because they can store, retrieve, reproduce, revise, and transmit incredible amounts of information almost instantaneously.

These observations are certainly not original, but Katsh shows how the technology is already making the legal concept of precedent, for example, unworkable because of an

overabundance of information. He also argues that the technology will hinder governments from restricting the flow of electronic information, making attempts at prior restraint or obscenity prosecutions ineffectual.

Katsh tries to ground his predictions in comparative historical analysis, but these parts of the book suffer, perhaps unavoidably, from superficiality. Not a historian by training, he relies on a wide-ranging selection of scholarship from various disciplines as he undertakes the mammoth task of showing how technological changes in communication have affected the nature of law and society throughout history. Beginning with preliterate societies and their oral tradition, Katsh discusses how the introduction of writing fostered a more hierarchical form of law. The printing press, on the other hand, brought equality, stability and predictability to the law. The electronic media, Katsh speculates, will radically destabilize the legal system built around the print model.

Regrettably, Katsh skips completely the arrival of electrical technology in communication and its effect on the law. He doesn't discuss, for instance, how the telegraph or the telephone affected the law or the legal profession. Telegraphic and electrical trade journals in the nineteenth century often carried articles about how these new technologies would change the law, specifically in terms of what messages would be considered as admissible evidence in court.

In his historical synthesis, Katsh also seems to see technological changes in communication occurring in a vacuum, without acknowledging social, economic, and political factors that undoubtedly also influenced the development of law.

Despite these shortcomings, *The Electronic Media and the Transformation of Law* is provocative and entertaining, though of limited scholarly value to journalism historians.

. . . Linda Lawson
Indiana University

●

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM.
By Joseph P. McKerns.
• Greenwood Press
• 1989, 834 pp.
• $95, Cloth

THIS BIOGRAPHICAL dictionary from Greenwood Press is another of that publisher's useful volumes in the fields of journalism and mass communications. Covering almost five hundred individuals in nearly eight hundred pages, this alphabetically arranged collection offers convenient snapshots of significant journalists in American history from 1690 to the present. The term *journalist* here includes writers/reporters; editors and publishers of newspapers and magazines; their counterparts in radio and television; editorial cartoonists; photojournalists; and columnists/commentators.

Volume editor Joseph McKerns is a respected journalism historian, well grounded in the field. In the introduction he explains clearly and persuasively the rationale for choosing individuals in the collection. The inclusion of fifty women and thirty minority/ethnic journalists, for example, represents a conscious effort to represent the very rich and diverse heritage of journalism. In addition, some living persons are included, with a bias here toward broadcast media because of the relative newness of radio and television.

Most of the entries are well-crafted, tightly written accounts, whether of major figures like Joseph Pulitzer, Frederick Douglass, Marguerite Higgins, and Walter Cronkite, or of lesser-known contributors to the field, like the revolutionary-era radicals John and Elizabeth Hunter Holt or the nineteenth-century general agent of the Western Associated Press who helped combine it with the New York AP, William Henry Smith. Of necessity in a volume like this, the entries provide an overview, rather than thorough analysis. Many of these authors manage, however, to convey the facts with flair; many entries go far

beyond being "who's who" listings and provide context to make the facts meaningful.

Besides McKerns, a diverse group of 131 writers contributed to the volume. Many are specialists who have invested years in the study of their subjects (e.g. Roger Yarrington on Isaiah Thomas, Nancy Roberts on Dorothy Day, Maurine Beasley on Lorena Hickok, McKerns himself on Benjamin Perley Poore). Even those not widely known as experts on specific individuals, however, generally write with understanding of and appreciation for their subjects and their contributions to and significance for journalism in the United States.

The format for each entry is one that has become the norm for volumes like this, including, for example, the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Each entry frames the person's life chronologically at the outset by indicating dates of birth and, where applicable, death; summarizes in the first paragraph the person's most significant contributions to the field; recounts chronologically major developments and events in the individual's life; and lists references, autobiographical ones followed by biographical ones. The quality of the source lists is uneven in this volume. Some entries include all biographies available on their subjects, while others omit available biographies or omit recent ones. In this sort of a volume with its highly condensed entries, relatively complete bibliographies can do much to help satisfy a reader's hunger for fuller information and understanding.

It's tempting with a volume like this to light on the omissions (yes, I've made a list of people I wish had been included, like Adela Rogers St. John, Otis Chandler, Patricia Carbine, Edgar Snow, and Anna Louise Strong. And why not Ted Turner?). But that seems both facile and unfair. The tough assignment for the editor of a volume like this is deciding who shall remain in, given the real limits associated with publishing costs.

In that regard, a real negative of this volume is the chokingly high cost ($95!) which will keep it out of the personal libraries of many who would find it a handy reference. It deserves to be part of university library reference collections, however.

. . . *Terry Hynes*
California State University, Fullerton

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FROM THE EDITOR •

FOR ALL JAMES CAREY'S influence on mass communication studies, his work remains curiously underread. It is easy, of course, to detect the influence of specific essays. His essay on "A Cultural Approach to Communication" helped define a whole domain of study. His essay on "The Problem of Journalism History" continues to agitate that field. But students of communication have not studied his work with the same care that they regularly devote to the work of social theorists such as Anthony Giddens, Raymond Williams, Clifford Gerrtz, Richard Rorty, or Jurgen Habermas.

The reasons for this benign neglect are probably several. For all his grace as a writer, Carey is better known as a speaker *par excellence.* Carey's work also resists easy appropriation for the cause of the day. It is not the sort of writing that readily wins invitations from Congressional investigating committees, grants from national foundations, or center stage at a protest rally. No entourage trails Carey at conventions, for he promises no ready-made style of academic identity for would-be disciples.

Most importantly, Carey remains underread because his work has appeared in scattered and idiosyncratic venues. He is a self-admitted essayist, rather than an author of books. By their nature, essays arrive without the bluster of publicity. They surprise us in a moment of quiet conviviality, then depart. And our attention turns elsewhere.

By this special issue, *American Journalism* hopes to inspire a more systematic reading of Carey's work. The occasion for this issue is the recent publication of *Communication As Culture.* I asked three respected communication historians—Carolyn Marvin, Jerilyn McIntyre, and Michael Schudson—to write review essays on Carey's book. Professor Carey agreed to respond and to let *American Journalism* publish a bibliography of his work as well.

Ideally, this issue will invite a sustained discussion of Carey's work. For Carey, who devoutly believes in the political power of conversation, that would be a worthy result indeed.

– J.P.

POP CULTURE AS RITUAL

THE APPEARANCE of John Wayne and other Hollywood fantasies in two Vietnam War memoirs reveals the importance of cultural content in the mass media and popular myth. Ron Kovic in *Born on the Fourth of July* (McGraw-Hill, 1976) and Phillip Caputo in *A Rumor of War* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977) evoke John Wayne's name and image to symbolize their own self-image as well as notions of heroism and disillusionment.

These Vietnam memoirs dramatize the importance of James Carey's message that scholars should take seriously the cultural content of the mass media. Carey's ritual model applies not only to news but also to popular culture, whose nostalgic images persist even when they seem to have outlived their usefulness. Recent trends in the content of both entertainment and politics make Carey's message all the more imperative.

Both Kovic and Caputo blame Hollywood for their optimism and their expectations for war. Kovic, who enlisted in the Marines hoping to become a hero, spent his childhood Saturday afternoons at the movies watching prehistoric monsters and war movies featuring John Wayne and Audie Murphy. He watched *The Sands of Iwo Jima* with his girlfriend, Castiglia.

"The Marine Corps hymn was playing in the background," Kovic writes, "as we sat glued to our seats, humming the hymn together and watching Sergeant Stryker, played by John Wayne, charge up the hill and get killed just before he reached the top. And then they showed the men raising the flag on Iwo Jima with the marines' hymn still playing, and Castiglia and I cried in our seats. I loved the song so much, and every time I heard it I would think of John Wayne and the brave men who raised the flag on Iwo Jima that day. I would think of them and cry."

John Wayne became a hero to Kovic and his friends, who reenacted movie plots and created new ones with their Mattel machine guns and green plastic soldiers. Marine Corps recruiters at his high school reinforced Kovic's image. "And as I shook their hands and stared up into their eyes," Kovic says, "I couldn't help but feel I was shaking hands with John Wayne and Audie Murphy."

Caputo's platoon leader "fit the Hollywood image of a Marine sergeant so perfectly that he seemed a case of life imitating art." John Wayne's name appeared as Caputo received instructions for an impending defensive action. "I don't want anyone going in there thinking he's going to play John Wayne," his leader said. John Wayne's image later personified Caputo's own feelings during a "delirium of violence" in combat. "I was John Wayne in 'Sands of Iwo Jima.' I was Aldo Ray in 'Battle Cry.' No, I was a young, somewhat immature officer flying on an overdose of adrenalin because I had just won a close-quarters fight without suffering a single casualty."

Disillusionment set in when war failed to measure up to its Hollywood image. For Caputo, it came when he saw an eighteen- or nineteen-year-old enemy soldier lying in a pool of his own blood, feeling intense pain, and surely knowing that death was near. "A modern, high-velocity bullet strikes with tremendous impact. No tidy holes as in the movies. The two in his belly were small—each about the size of a dime—but I could have put my fist into the exit wounds in his back."

Kovic returned from the war paralyzed from the waist down. "Yes," he writes, "I gave my dead dick for John Wayne and Howdy Doody, for Castiglia and Sparky the barber. Nobody ever told me I was going to come back from this war with-

out a penis. But I am back and my head is screaming now and I don't know what to do."

Feeling psychological pain, Caputo dreams of the mutilated bodies of men in his platoon and relives his fear. "And this unreasoning fear quickly produced the sensation I had often had in action: of watching myself in a movie. Although I have had a decade to think about it, I am still unable to explain why I woke up in that condition."

Hollywood provided both Kovic and Caputo with idealized images of war that only intensified their subsequent disillusionment. Nothing in the culture prepared them for dealing with pain, only with victory.

In our new symbolic reality, American purity and uniqueness have been shattered. Yet a ubiquitous nostalgia for a return of lost power and innocence has become a recurring theme in popular culture. For a time, Vietnam replaced the American frontier as the stage on which our national mythic play is performed. Rambo returns to win; Robin Williams to demonstrate our good intentions; and Tom Cruise (in Kovic's story) to show that war is hell, despite the best of intentions

In the fall 1982 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, historian William H. McNeill called for the creation of new national myths to compensate for the disillusionment that resulted from Vietnam and Watergate.

Historians wallowed in detail, he wrote, while the nation needed new myths to acknowledge cultural diversity and to restrain violence while replacing old views of manifest destiny and universalistic moralism. Calling myth "mankind's substitute for instinct," McNeill contended that the nation would be unable to take coherent public action in the absence of believable myths.

The massive and rapid buildup of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf in 1990, however, belied the notion that American self-perception as world hero had self-destructed. American forces quickly took the lead with Arabs in supporting roles; the old stereotypes of white superiority and dark-skinned wards reappeared, although tempered by a desperate effort to build moral and financial support worldwide. President Bush's rationale came primarily in negative terms: to stop aggression. No one defended U.S. involvement as a struggle for democracy, only for the right to determine the price of oil, to "kick some ass," and to protect our "way of life." Few defined the Gulf crisis as a struggle over the sovereignty of kings. And everyone seemed to ignore the presumed Vietnam lesson that world conflicts have a history that cannot be reversed by military power alone.

Memoirs by Vietnam veterans like Kovic and Caputo have shown the importance of national myths and symbols. The Gulf crisis provides yet another demonstration of the mass media's power and the dangers of people's dependence upon it. Within hours, the president mobilized troops, while news coverage and national polls demonstrated (or built) support.

The manipulation of symbols in this increasingly media-dependent political environment and the demise of moral values in both popular culture and political rhetoric demand the attention of serious scholarship. The study of communication as culture provides an environment in which to take up such work.

. . . *William E. Huntzicker*
University of Minnesota

RECONSIDERING JAMES CAREY

HOW MANY RITUALS DOES IT TAKE TO MAKE AN ARTIFACT?

Carolyn Marvin

Leopards break into the temple and drink the sacrificial chalices dry; this occurs repeatedly, again and again: finally it can be reckoned beforehand and becomes part of the ceremony.

— Franz Kafka, *The Great Wall of China*

WHEN JAMES CAREY FORMULATED the distinction between *ritual* and *transmission* more than a decade ago in order to interrogate the direction of scholarly thought about communication, it could have been said that he became one of the leopards in the temple, and that as a result, the look of the ceremony changed.[1] Along with other students and critics of culture contemplating a similar range of problems, Carey struck a resonant chord in a congregation dissatisfied with the liturgy. Over the years, his provocative distinction has continued to capture the imagination and energy of students and scholars seeking ways to formulate unfolding intuitions about what to pay attention to and why. Today the leopards *are* part of the ceremony. We have embraced what Joe Turow, quoting Clifford Geertz, calls the "rise of the interpretive turn."[2] There are audiences, journals, and scholars eager to take up the cultural perspective Carey called for. This is an important achievement in our field. Its acknowledgement, appropriately symbolized in the publication of Carey's essays spanning that period of transformation, provides an opportunity briefly to replenish and drink again from the chalice of that originating provocation.

Carolyn Marvin is associate professor of communication at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. She is the author of *When Old Technologies Were New* (Oxford, 1988) and currently is at work on a study of American flag ritual.

1. James Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," *Communication* 2 (December 1975): 1–22, reprinted in Carey, *Communication As Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 13–36.
2. Joseph Turow, "Media Industries, Media Consequences: Rethinking Mass Communication," in *Communication Yearbook 13*, ed. James A. Anderson (Newbury Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1990), 478.

In person and in print, Carey has always been the most generous of teachers. As one who has felt that gift deeply, and in the spirit of that original challenge, I shall suggest that Carey's initial distinction could also be drawn in an arena where it has had less development and attention. This is the arena of technology, entering the field as a fashionable subject area during the last decade in the guise of "new technologies," where it took over (though this was not its exclusive presentation) some of the very behavioral and functional perspectives Carey had questioned. What I wish to argue is that Carey's notion of communication as ritual, or cultural code, should be applied to technology, and not oppositionally contrasted to it. Though Carey is too subtle a thinker to dichotomize good-communication and bad-technology, there are aspects of his writing that do seem to point in that direction, and about which some stirring up of the waters may provide a useful clarification of his work.

Carey argued that applying a transmission view to communication obscured it as a human and cultural exchange by overlaying an alternative analysis of how technically constructed message features such as speed, reach, volume, and efficiency could be used to control citizens and workers more or less well.[3] We should consider whether framing technology in the vocabulary of transmission conceptually dehydrates social life, to use Victor Turner's phrase, in a comparable way. By a "transmission" notion of technology I mean the view that technological forms irresistibly structure symbolic space in the vocabulary of speed, size, and control, that technology's primary effect is to distance us from one another, and that technology is of a different substance than culture. It reflects it; it may or may not determine it; but it is not *it*. An alternative "ritual" frame extending both the logic and spirit of Carey's original distinction might question these primary assumptions about technology, broaden the range of artifacts and practices commonly thought of in connection with communicative exchange, and in particular examine the up-close, performative aspects of technological practice. It would elaborate for a specific domain of practices Mary Douglas's dictum that consumption, broadly defined to mean every facet of our cultural appropriation of goods, "is a ritual process whose primary function is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events."[4]

In fairness, the frame I mean is a frame that Carey himself has touched on over the years. Things, he says, quoting Kenneth Burke, are the way we talk about ourselves, and artifacts are products of human action on the world. But as I read Carey, technology is for the most part anti-ritual and its meanings more pathological than not. While I suspect Carey may not be per-

3. For a classic analysis of this kind, see Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Tracking the Flow of Information," *Science*, 12 August 1983, 609–13.

4. Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 65.

suaded to extend his ritual view in precisely the way I am suggesting, and that he will not lack for subtle and eloquent arguments to the contrary, I hope to engage him nonetheless.

Carey has never explicitly limited the transmission view of communication that he wished to problematise to what is technological, though he argues that the metaphor of communication as transmission is characteristic of industrial cultures. Industrial cultures are technologized in their very name, of course, and it is hard to know what could make communication transmission-like, if not technology. That observation must be tempered by the recognition that we define technology in peculiarly tribal ways. The best known of these definitions lean heavily on efficiency, rationality, instrumentality, method, and replication. These are one-dimensional, totalizing definitions of the kind Carey has warned against in treating communication itself. As a discursive writer and a critic of neat, exclusionary systematizing beloved by the academy, Carey has consistently objected to behaviorist, functionalist, and critical models too reified and formalistic to capture the complexity of human experience. We might similarly question the assumption that similar artifacts serve the same purposes in all societies, and indeed, in all social exchanges within any one society. We have learned that such assumptions about speech and myth are treacherous.[5] They are equally treacherous about technology. What we might propose instead is Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's observation, sounding not unlike James Carey, that "men and women make order in their selves by first creating and then interacting with the material world."[6]

Perhaps the least controversial and most serviceable definition of technology is also the simplest. Technology is material culture: artifacts. This is a useful definition if it is admitted, as it generally now is, that artifacts have no cultural existence except within a symbolic milieu that generates, explains, and sustains them.[7] That symbolic setting could be a factory in which artifacts are a focus and a medium for human relationships accomplished around the moment of production, a museum or art gallery in which artifacts perform as memory objects or are deliberately distanced from customary contexts in order to notice certain things about them, or a wedding shower in which artifacts are

5. Dell Hymes, "The Anthropology of Communication," in *Human Communication Theory*, ed. Frank E. X. Dance, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 1–39; G.S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Function in Ancient and Other Cultures* (New York: Cambridge, 1970).

6. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (New York: Cambridge, 1981), 16.

7. One exemplary instance of the current crop of definitions: Wiebe Bijker and his colleagues include objects, activities or processes, and knowledge as essential components of a notion of technology, which they argue cannot be fruitfully defined with greater precision. See Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas P. Hughes, Trevor Pinch, eds. *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 3–4.

given the role of gifts. The boundaries of technological definition tell us less about what technology is than what it is that people want to debate about. Invariably, the topic of this debate is the social relations called into question by a particular (indeed, every) system of artifacts. Definitions of technology thus lead away from artifacts to focus on social relationships. The boundaries of technological definition and debate reflect prejudices and predispositions—not analytic precision, but culture.

Carey's own treatment of technology is polemically distinctive. Carey recognizes two general classes of technology. One, by omission, contains artifacts that do not concern him. Technology is what Carey associates with communication-as-transmission. If I understand him right, communication at a distance made possible by modern, industrial, shiny, male-identified for the most part, capital-intensive forms of "high" technology for the purpose of control ("the more important manufactures," according to a 1909 *Webster's Dictionary* definition[8]) is the kind of communication that is undesirable. By extension, it furnishes the kind of society that may be undesirable as well.

It cannot be objected that a technology or society so characterized is arbitrary and partial in its rendering of the world, since the notion of the legitimacy of culturally idiosyncratic frames is what motivates cultural analysis to begin with. There is presently a surge of concern about technologies or societies using technologies that seem to undermine the conditions of cultural diversity for other groups by structuring ever more controlled and rationalized environments. This position has substantial moral appeal, but also serious analytic difficulties. An important but rarely undertaken task of such a critique is to specify what counts as acceptable change and transformation among cultures in contact, and for that matter, among classes, groups, and persons within a "single" culture. Another task is justifying the categories we have constructed to describe cultural diversity and the views we may hold about their significance and value outside any cultural frame but our own, and finally, explaining how observers socialized in a particular cultural tradition and history can have valid knowledge of cultures, thoughts, and feelings outside that frame.[9] These are, of course, the kinds of objections typically raised in response to the "interpretive turn," which its critics charge has told us a lot more about ourselves as interpreters than about culture.

8. Quoted by Langdon Winner in *Autonomous Technology: Technics-Out-of-Control As a Theme in Political Thought* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977), 8.

9. For a useful discussion of both sides of this argument, see Richard A. Shweder, "Anthropology's Romantic Rebellion Against the Enlightenment, or There's More to Thinking Than Reason and Evidence," and Melford E. Spiro, "Some Reflections on Cultural Determinism and Relativism with Special Reference to Emotion and Reason," both in *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion* ed. Richard A. Shweder and Robert A. LeVine (New York: Cambridge, 1984), 27–66, 323–46.

But in the matter of technology Carey is no cultural relativist. His positioning of mass media and transportation as high-tech destroyers of community makes him a cultural positivist for whom transmissive technology is what is not original oral communication. The result is that distillate "effects" in mediated and face-to-face communication (which is mediated by language, costume, cosmetics, and all the other apparatuses of personal exchange) are community and culture determining. Distal artifacts, extending the operations of the body across space, threaten communities undisciplined by the constraints of face-to-face interaction. These are dislodged from their "natural" centers by the irresistible pull of distant groups through the agency of distance-controlling artifacts. Technology is problematic because "it" constitutes the suspect mechanism that interferes with what Suzuki calls the "direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identities."[10] The debatable assumption here, besides the belief that people always treat one another better close up and worse at a distance, is that distance-controlling technology is not routinely filtered, structured, interpreted, or molded through close-up customs and meanings.

Technology is a problematic in Carey's analysis partly because *community*, as he has used the term, remains an uncertain social condition. Whatever might be the elastic vitality of communities, their ebb and flow in communication, remains in doubt, explorable but unexplored, since the implication of a critique of distance-controlling artifacts is that communities cease to be authentic or moral or manageable when their boundaries enlarge. This resistance to contact and transformation, and the related lack of a dynamic to explain whether and how there could be boundary changes and symbolic shifts of a non-pathological type, suggests a view of culture as product rather than process, and is puzzling, at least to me. It was John Dewey, after all, whose notion of society *as* communication is basic to Carey's theoretical posture, who argued for the transformative possibilities of communication. Dewey, of course, was alarmed by the inability of the great community created by transport and mass media to achieve the conditions for such communication. His point of reference was the New England village (artifactually symbolized by its covered bridge, its steepled church, and its wooden fences) and its ritual town meeting. We need not restrain our admiration for those things to notice that this community was racially exclusive, ethnically homogeneous and unwelcoming, and unwilling to offer women the vote. These elements are too far from a historically altered sense (some of it achieved with the help of distal printed discussion, since racism can be a very face-to-face prejudice) of what is necessary for the demo-

10. For a useful discussion of identity and cultural performance, see Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Publications, 1982), 102–23.

cratic spirit to flourish for us to idealize it as any but a nostalgic alternative to a society that takes cultural diversity up close more seriously, if not without pain.

Carey's criteria for evaluating the worthiness of technologically various communities are unclear because the lost communities he admires—Dewey's New England, traditional Ireland, classical Greece—were themselves enriched by writers, travelers, and other citizens comfortable with symbolic distance. Distance is in fact essential to symbolic action, since symbols are displaced from what is symbolized. Can distal technologies enhance community? Is orality not so fragile? Can it be that speech and technique serve different purposes in different settings that must be established encounter by encounter? Social exchanges are simultaneously local and distant, personal and collective, past and present, space- and time-binding. Distance-controlling media need to be analyzed with due regard for local features of symbolic exchange. Nor is it clear that distant meanings *chiefly* govern and elaborate technological practices. To speak simply of technology, or distal technology, as perilous to community may obscure in a reifying metaphor (the kind Carey rejects in descriptions of communication) intricate and complex sequences and hierarchies of social practice, and elaborate networks of relations among actors, including bonds and oppositions of interest and friendship that should provide rich fields of inquiry for students of communication. We must entertain the possibility of *Gemeinschaft* at every point in the *Gesellschaft*, and look for it.

Can, for example, Carey's distal-proximal model help us understand Henry Adams's perception of the electric dynamo? Adams spoke of it as "a symbol of infinity . . . he began to feel the forty-foot dynamo as a moral force, much as the early Christians felt the Cross. . . . Before the end, one began to pray to it." No cultural analyst could resist the suggestion that symbols and rituals of the sacred migrate from content to content or that feelings of communion and participation are projected on things as well as gods, animals, and persons. This is not to deny the less than salutary aspects of human uses of technology with respect to other persons and the planet itself, but it is to argue that "features" of technology are found in human notions about technology rather than in structures issuing independently from artifacts, and these notions complicate rather than simplify analysis.

Consider also that anthropology has struggled over at least two contradictory meanings of the term *ritual*. One meaning calls to mind occasions and acts in which there is an intensification of the social structure. Ritual occurs, according to Arnold van Gennep, to whom we owe the notion of *rites de passage*, in moments of transformative possibility, danger, and suspense—in the presence, that is, of an implied peril to the social structure which may or may not be resolved by a return to the *ancien re-*

gime. Rituals of this kind, says Victor Turner, are "occasions not given over to technological routine."[11] But there is surely technological non-routine wherever sublimity and terror focus on artifacts. This is what moon landings are about, atomic bomb blasts, and wedding rings.

An alternative sense of ritual comes by way of Sir Edmund Leach through Emile Durkheim and Clyde Kluckhohn, among others, and refers to routinized and non-special acts, familiar and comfortable activities whose reassuring presence tells their practitioners they are at home in their culture. Such rituals are not specially marked and communicate the prevailing social values and rules of the community, reflecting Peter Berger's description of human society as "essentially and inevitably externalizing activity . . . an edifice of externalized and objectivated meanings, always intending a meaningful totality."[12]

Whereas ritual in the first, or strong, sense seeks to stabilize change and contain crisis, it has ways of accommodating and using it. This is Kafka's point in the vignette of the leopards in the temple. The second sense, however, describes a world where change is absent and unwelcome at worst, unaccounted for at best. It is in this second weak sense of ritual, through a variety of small but significant social acts, that Carey presents his prototype example of newspaper reading-and-writing for analysis. Carey's choice is illuminating because of the newspaper's place in a cultural chain of events that is identified by its unseverable links to two technologies firmly affixed to a transmission *mentalité*—printing and transportation. The daily newspaper cannot be in the reader's hands without the delivery truck, the roads on which it travels, the printing satellite, the rocket that launches it, the reporters who make use not only of roads, telephones, and laptops, but pencils and notebooks. It requires a standardized technique for transforming and conveying language—the alphabet, and years of regimented training in its use. Newspaper reading is socially embedded in other technologically saturated settings as well—the house on Sunday, the subway ride to work, the automatic coffeemaker, and all the complex family, neighbor, stranger, gender, and class relations in which all these artifacts are also implicated, and through which their meaning is constituted. Newspaper reading cannot do without the artifact in a thousand forms patterned and textured in complex and meaningful ways among citizens in complementary, competing, and overlapping networks of association.

Not only must ritual have techniques and objects (Can we imagine a king without a throne, a judge without a bench, a professor without a chair? Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi asks), but ritual

11. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre:*, 79.
12. Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor, 1969), 27.

cannot do without control, authority, or hierarchy, which Carey presents as the distinguishing mark of transmissive technology. Carey has also described ritually framed communication as "the construction and maintenance of an ordered, meaningful cultural world that can serve as a control and container for human action." The traditional sense of ritual as the performance of a closely controlled sequence of acts or words thus embodies the notion of conformity to an authorized order. Nothing about the ritualized representation of shared beliefs is incompatible with the struggle, sometimes muted, sometimes more open, for control of those representations and the people arrayed about them. Whatever is involved in stabilizing or challenging meaning in a culture involves control.

This is not because we have too little imagination to see anything but control as the paramount fact of social life. It is because at every level of social life, to paraphrase Foucault, the problem of control is fundamentally a problem of meaning: what reality will be, how resources of meaning shall be allocated and invested, which symbols belong together and which may be torn apart, and (always) by whom. Nor is the celebration of tradition less controlling for operating in a temporal rather than a spatial frame, as Eric Hobsbawm and his colleagues have demonstrated about those traditions we call modern, and as anyone who has ever lived in a small town might attest.[13] Hannah Arendt makes this point and argues implicitly, in my view, for technology-as-ritual by asserting that cultural stabilization requires both reification, or the transformation of the intangible into the tangibility of things, and remembrance. To put it another way, remembrance, which we commonly recognize as a ritual process, and reification, which we do not, are necessary to make the cultural world real and reliable.[14]

Analytically, it seems difficult to separate communication as transmission from communication as ritual on the basis of the categories of control or preservation. If the term *ritual* suggests a cultural frame, a compelling explanation for social reality patterned and collectively attended to and maintained in ways that may include many forms of struggle and negotiation in communicative acts that manifest and create culture, then *technology* is a term for a very large ritual domain of communicative culture, and the metaphor of transmission is too restrictive a way of thinking not only about communication, but about technology as well.

Technological practice is a social process of the same kind that communication is. In both, elements of symbolic systems are manipulated through material objects and networks of personal

13. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge, 1983).
14. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958), 94–96.

and collective relations to make meanings. This is not to say that anyone anytime has unlimited power with respect to the operation of technology or the interpretation of technologically produced or embodied symbols, but only that specific artifactual expressions and arrangements do embody and signify groups located in temporal or spatial circumstances in which power, prestige, purity, and honor are always scarce resources, and that culture and history are made as such arrangements change. Uncautiously used, the term *technology* becomes a misleading shorthand to homogenize and reduce the multi-leveled polyvalent relationships of people. Nor is this an argument against critical distance and in favor of apologias for mass culture and its ideology of consumer capitalism, but only in favor of phenomenal and cultural complexity, and enough patience to discover it.

How would technology look different if we thought of it as ritually embodying constitutive and regulative rules of social formation, as coding particular dimensions of the conversation about who we are and what we stand for? From a strong or weak ritual perspective, technology has but one dramatic role. That is to facilitate, organize, and otherwise mediate and provision human relationships, to elaborate the significance of communicative relationships, and to provide opportunities and codes for maneuvering and manipulating those relationships. Conventional attempts to distinguish technological from other kinds of social practice by designating functional utility as its distinctive purpose fail to the extent that such descriptions have meaning only with reference to prior, which is to say, historically and culturally fashioned notions of the world and human relationships, and of what rationality and efficiency might mean. As Marshall Sahlins writes, utility is not a quality of the object but a significance of the objective qualities.[15]

The point recalls the instructive arbitrariness of Martin Heidegger's claim in *The Question Concerning Technology* that the nature of a river is less violated by a wooden footbridge than a steam-powered turbine.[16] This can only be true if the "nature" of the river is energy, let us say, and not boundary. But perhaps the nature of the river is to separate, which essence a footbridge profoundly violates by connecting banks, whereas a turbine is harmonious because it faithfully translates the river's energetic nature. The river cannot be consulted in any case. Only man's notion of the nature of the river, the footbridge, and the turbine can be negotiated among men. The same is true of artifacts which are interpreted both in creation and application, but not identically in every exchange.

There is no technology that does not place those arranged

15. Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 169.

16. Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1977), 16.

around it in social relations to one another, and there is thus no uncommunicative technology or technological practice. Consider the car door slammed in anger, as much a "function" of a car as the transportational possibilities that facilitate other kinds of communicative relationships. Consider the expressive drama of driving. In a car culture, how could it be otherwise? The expansive phrase "technology and culture" labels a kind of inquiry that places artifacts in a cultural context but holds on to the assumption that artifacts are inserted in culture, and of a different substance than culture is. In Western history, art and technology were once the same concept, reflected in a single term, but then divided. Art retained the association with culture.[17] Technology remains culture no less, and a fully elastic dimension of it. Tools are messages about their users across time and space. Artifacts are the signs that go ahead of us even into the entirely symbolic palimpsest of outer space, where there is nothing to control with the technology available to us, just as the communicative appearance of the earliest surviving human tools on our own planet signifies the chronological beginning of civilization.

I would connect technology to ritualized communication by making more explicit the concreteness of the connection between bodies and technology. Technology is that aspect of culture we handle with our bodies, as Marx and McLuhan both recognized. Further, it could be argued that the action and interaction of bodies is the paradigmatic heart of oral culture. According to this perspective, what is most characteristic of oral culture is not that its medium is language, a notion that survives as a legacy of structuralist ideas about mind, but the body in all its expressive manifestations, including speech. Oral culture cannot go away so long as human beings have visually, tactually, and aurally perceptible, and perceiving, bodies. We have sometimes regarded technology as "opposed" to the body, and it may certainly be interpreted that way in a particular system of meaning, but technology is never not integrally connected to the body, and this may be one of the most interesting things to understand about it. The link between symbolizing minds and symbolically loaded artifacts is through bodies in any case. Shoshana Zuboff makes this explicit in her arresting and useful definition of technology as intelligence applied to the problem of the body, and in her notion of "acting-with" and "acting-on" technologies, which characterize the body's relationship to the technology.[18] We can add *for the purpose of conducting social*

17. In the same way that technology was considered an art, art has been considered a technology. See Miriam Levin, "The Wedding of Art and Science in Late Eighteenth Century France," *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Life* 7 (May 1982): 54–73.

18. Shoshana Zuboff, *In the Age of the Smart Machine: The Future of Work and Power* (New York: Basic, 1988), 22.

relations that have significance with respect to other bodies that are present and absent. To offer a very modest example, how the television set is arranged in the home—in what room and in what position with respect to the bodies that will gather around it—helps signal what families wish to say about themselves to each other and to visitors. Such local practices are richly expressive to those who observe them.

These concerns aside, Carey has served us all, students and colleagues, and the field as a whole, in these published essays, which faithfully reflect both the medium and the message of his writing. His is the discursive art, conversation consciously opposed to a style of social science writing that fetishizes dead language stripped of the power of the personal body-based communication that speech is, in favor of a depersonalized, disembodied language that removes it from the individual body at the heart of perception and experience on the grounds that linguistic subjectivity is to be distrusted and its metaphorical resources avoided. We have learned a great deal from Carey's critical gaze at how mass media and other messages are connected to deeper structures of social life. I would not ask him to shift his gaze, and like others, will look forward to more descriptions of the view. But if we are to realize some of the implications of his sturdiest pronouncements about the ritual features of all human action in the world, I think there is a still unexplored and rewarding world of technological practice, pervasive in modern lives, to be seen up close and in ritual terms. Not that I think the explication of this world is Jim Carey's job. I do think his ideas will help make it possible.

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OPPOSITIONALIZING CAREY

James Carey's Search for an Ethic for Communication Studies

Jerilyn S. McIntyre

THIS COLLECTION OF ESSAYS, written over a span of a generation, reminds us how long and how compellingly James Carey has been a voice arguing for an alternative view of the role and significance of the mass media in our society.

The litany of Carey's contributions to our field has been recited many times before: by taking an anthropological, cultural approach to the study of communication, he has challenged sharply some of the long-standing traditions and assumptions of communication research and has articulated a position for communication scholars within American cultural studies. For communication historians, he has also raised questions about the elitist, institutional orientation of journalism history, and he has provided a conceptual bridge to recent developments in social, cultural, and intellectual history.

Yet, despite all that Carey has admittedly contributed in the above ways, to this point, his work has been assimilated into the tradition of American communication history and communication studies without our directly confronting the inherently radical statement he makes about other approaches to the study of communication, and especially about their epistemology, their politics, and their ethics.

To communication research generally, his challenge is both epistemological and ontological. Carey contests the assumptions and accepted priorities of some of the major directions in communication research—notably the effects tradition and administrative research. In "Overcoming Resistance to Cultural Studies," he even asserts that "the central tradition of effects research has been a failure on its own terms."[1] The effects tradition, he contends, is based on objectivist assumptions about the nature of reality and the forces that act on individuals and

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1. James Carey, *Communication As Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 91–92.

shape individual action—assumptions defined through behaviorism and functionalism. Carey suggests instead that reality should be conceived of in "expressivist" terms, as a product of human language and communication practices. The purpose of communication research should therefore not be to predict or identify consequences. It should be to diagnose and understand the multitude of texts that humans produce; in Carey's words, to "enlarge the human conversation by understanding what others are saying."[2]

The dichotomy between objectivist and expressivist interpretations is developed at length in his discussion of transmission and ritual models, where he distinguishes between communication as, on the one hand, representational—transporting information, or extending control through the distribution of information—and, on the other hand, as interactive—creating and confirming the social process. Arguing for a "ritual" view of communication, Carey takes the position that knowledge and meaning, and even reality, are created through shared belief and the building of consensus—through discourse, not the dissemination of objective "news" or "facts." Although Carey is not the first or the only scholar to have espoused these ideas, his ritual model introduced a non-objectivist, interactive view of human communication to our field, and articulated the need to understand journalistic texts as among the many ways that humans create meaning.

That conception of journalistic texts is, in turn, at the heart of Carey's contribution to communication history, where his chief challenge has been to the traditional narrative we have told ourselves and our students. A recent issue of the *Journal of American History* devoted to the study of "memory" in American history provides a framework within which to assess that contribution. History, *JAH* editor David Thelen noted, is a form of memory, through which past experiences are reconstructed and reconstituted in a way that shapes and influences a culture's "core identities."[3] What Carey has done is to hold up to question the journalistic profession's memory of itself, and, with that, its "core identity," including its implicit faith in an historical "idea of progress," and its focus on the major individuals and institutions who are presumed to have contributed to the growth and progress of the mass media in society. Suggesting the need to consider something other than what he called the Whig view of history and its progressive model of our society and its institutions, he posits a more complex interaction between the media and the public.

Carey's conception of public communication encompasses all of the forms of expression that create meaning and community.

2. Carey, *Communication As Culture*, 62.
3. David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *Journal of American History* 75 (March 1989): 1117–20.

Journalism is but one text among many. In making this point, Carey underlines the importance of situating journalistic conventions and practices within the context of all of the other cultural forms out of which public discourse and public culture emerge. Further, he emphasizes that what we find in those texts is not simply "information" or "data"—grist for influencing and informing the public—but the symbolic dialogue that creates and sustains knowledge and ways of knowing in a culture.

His attention to the multiplicity of texts and the multivocality of culture links him, and links the field of communication history, with some of the most stimulating work currently being done in "mainstream" history among cultural and intellectual historians, particularly in studies of literacy, reading, and popular culture. His emphasis on the cultural meaning and symbolic import of technologies and technological change also mirrors ideas developed by historians investigating the symbolic status or symbol-generating capacities of technology.

By far the most resonant of the themes from mainstream history, however, is one that shares Carey's conception of modes of thought as symbolic processes through which the social order is confirmed and maintained. That conception evokes the meaning in the word *mentalités*, a term defined by cultural historian Robert Darnton as "not merely what people thought but how they thought—how they construed the world, invested it with meaning, and infused it with emotion."[4] Another writer characterizes *mentalités* provocatively as "what was 'thinkable' in a human collective at a given moment in time."[5]

Our culture's *mentalités*—what is thinkable or knowable at this moment in time—is at the crux of Carey's critique of American communication history and communication research. Seeing the role of communication as creating or confirming "what is thinkable," he raises to the level of discussion and debate questions about the impact of technology and technological change on the *mentalités* of our culture. He thus makes those concerns the central problematics of communication studies.

Those are, for example, the problematics of interest to Carey and John J. Quirk in "The History of the Future," in their distinction between information and knowledge. They claim that knowledge is more than simply the distribution of information—it is a way of conceiving the world. Thus, when they suggest the need to be mindful of the impact that new technologies have on ways of thinking, on language, on human action, their apprehension is shaped by their conviction that new technologies can become monopolies of knowledge, controlled by

4. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic, 1984), 3.
5. Frank Manuel, quoted in William Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 7.

the new priests of social science, higher education and research:

> When one speaks, let us say, of the monopoly of religious knowledge, of the institutional church, one is not referring to the control of particles of information. Instead, one is referring to control of their entire system of thought, or paradigm, that determines what it is that can be religiously factual, that determines what the standards are for assessing the truth of any elucidation of these facts, and that defines what it is that can be accounted for as knowledge. Modern computer enthusiasts may be willing to share their data with anybody. What they are not willing to relinquish as readily is the entire technocratic world view that determines what qualifies as an acceptable or valuable fact. What they monopolize is not the body of data itself but the approved, certified, sanctioned, official mode of thought—indeed the definition of what it means to be reasonable.[6]

The fear of Carey and Quirk is that, because the "approved, certified, sanctioned, official mode of thought" derives from the activities of life as they are portrayed, represented, and expressed in a society's forms of public discourse, changes in the technology of that discourse can significantly affect or even transform what is collectively "thinkable" in a culture. This is not the cause-effect argument of the transmission model of communication; it is a more organic sense of subtle shifts in patterns of belief, ways of knowing, ways of perceiving.

A commercially based, technocratic worldview thus shapes the definition of culture generally, and of scholarship (as well as other kinds of thinking) specifically. The practical and political consequences of the relationship between such a worldview and our ways of thinking are troubling. The problem, however, is not with commercialization per se, or technology per se, since both of these can be forces for good in our society. It is with the unquestioning assumption that these are inevitabilities—i.e., that technology is inevitably equated with progress, and economic growth inevitably creates a better life. To the contrary, commercialization can become a control that reduces the variety of content available as part of the public dialogue, or it may distort that content, or restrict access to less popular forms of expression or alternative arguments. There may also be technological or economic barriers to the sharing of knowledge, requiring that a price must be paid for access, in the form of either having to own a piece of the technology of knowledge distribution or having to be trained in its use. Even more fundamentally, the depth and breadth of what is knowable in our culture can be constricted because our commercially based public communication system

6. Carey, *Communication As Culture*, 194.

increasingly dictates that content should be abbreviated or specialized—fragmented rather than comprehensive, trivial rather than thoughtful.

Phrased this way, such concerns may still focus our attention too much on consequences of technological change and commercialization. That is not my intention, because the force of Carey's ideas is diminished if they are regarded only as a plea to look for evidence of cultural consequences of our media rather than other kinds. Their thrust is also blunted if they are treated simply as an "alternative perspective" on an agreed-upon set of cultural practices and priorities when they are, in fact, an essentially radical critique of those practices and priorities.

The question is then, what does the intertwining of technological forms and media content portend for us culturally? What does it portend for our ways of knowing; for our ability to dissect, reconstruct, and assimilate information; for our own adaptability to other ways of knowing or thinking?

The application of this line of questions to scholarly modes of thought identifies other issues of power, status, and control. The fundamental methodological claim Carey advances is that all intellectual fields are ideologies. Thus, he calls us to examine the ideologies implicit in the transmission model or the functionalist approach to doing research and assessing the impact of our communication systems. Further, he tries to make us realize that the conceptual boundaries of what he calls the transmission model not only inhibit scholarly understanding of the subtle interactions between technological changes and public discourse, but they also impose limits on "what is thinkable" politically and economically.

Carey's stance is clear and consistent: monopolies of knowledge control ways of knowing and participating in the public discourse essential to the formation of political community and culture. They also account for the dominance of the functionalist approach as the paradigm for undertaking and interpreting research—a paradigm that I would argue sustains, and is sustained by, the economic and technocratic imperatives driving other major cultural institutions in twentieth century American society as well. (Anyone who doubts this has never sat in on university discussions of technology transfer policies and practices.) The transmission model, in other words, dominates broader social assumptions about communication and does much to shape popular, scholarly, and governmental responses to technological innovation, and to commercialization and economic consolidation of our system of mass communication.

It is ironic that, in critiques of Carey's arguments, he and those who have been influenced by his ideas have been asked to "take the next step" and "operationalize" his model of communication—a term derived from the very research paradigm he is asking us to set aside. It could be said, however, that the task of

getting our field to question that paradigm and its premises is already daunting enough.

Be that as it may, what is Carey's major contribution to communication research and communication history? I would argue that his cultural approach or ritual model is an ethic of communication study in which the first step is to acknowledge the political and cultural implications of the interrelationships among technology, power and the control of information, and their impact on "ways of thinking" in our culture. Pointing out the connection between cultural ways of thinking or ways of knowing and forms of expression, he asks us to see texts as windows on social action as well as forms of expression controlled by authority—monopolies of knowledge created by monopolies of power. He is asking us to change our own worldview—our way of conceiving the problem at hand. Until we can, there is no next step.

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CULTURE, COMMUNICATION, AND CAREY

On the Relation of Technology and Culture in James Carey's Thought

Michael Schudson

AS BEST AS I CAN RECALL, I met James Carey's students before I met James Carey. This seems to me fitting: Carey has been above all else a teacher.

A teacher, according to a wonderful essay by the late Bartlett Giamatti, is someone who chooses. A teacher chooses and so organizes choices for students. That is what Carey has done as the intellectual leader of the communication program at the University of Illinois for the past two decades. He is not for the most part an original scholar in a "research" mode. While he has done research on the telegraph and its reception, that work, it seems to me, has never come to fruition. As in the concluding essay in *Communication As Culture*, it is a set of provocative suggestions for research more than a disciplined pursuit of the research itself.

Instead, Carey's work is one of gathering thinkers and ideas from various quarters—philosophy (John Dewey, Richard Rorty), anthropology (Clifford Geertz), sociology (Robert Park, Emile Durkheim, George Herbert Mead), literary studies (Raymond Williams), the history of science (Thomas Kuhn), American studies (Leo Marx, Henry Nash Smith)—and demonstrating their relevance for the study of communication. It is as though he were putting together an all-star communications seminar, inviting players from any of the academic teams, so long as they are stand-outs at their positions. He thus brings into the center of communication studies the set of voices he feels we need to hear. He borrows, he synthesizes, he organizes without simplifying, he keeps up an insistent awareness of irony and complexity in a sonorous prose without tripping or stumbling or losing a sense of direction. He is a definer of fields, an organizer of inquiry, a traffic helicopter flying over the academic study of communication and identifying which way the traffic is moving and where there are bottlenecks and why.

As a teacher, Carey has inspired students after his own heart,

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scholars more likely to be serious and even inspiring teachers rather than researchers. Coming from a different academic tradition, I had some trouble recognizing this at first—that some of his finest students would themselves be not "serious scholars" in the vein I expect in the best Ph.D.s but dedicated teachers in the tradition of Carey himself, definers of fields and editors of journals and encouragers of yet further explorations of communication as a symbolic process of representing and creating reality.

Carey's influence is easy to see but difficult to define precisely because he offers no blueprint. This is frequently the case in qualitative social research. Historians have found a way around this through a relatively rigid subdivision of their subject by nation and period and an insistence on the discipline of archival sources. Every history doctoral student must produce a dissertation that burrows deeply into some library or libraries and rouses a librarian, curator, or archivist to disturb some stack of books or papers no one has looked at for decades, if ever. Communication as a field is not so neatly organized to channel relationships between teachers and their graduate students. Carey's students do not necessarily work on his subjects. For a James Carey, the merit of the work is inseparable from the style in which it is conveyed—and teaching style, while it can in fact be done, can scarcely be codified.

This is not to suggest that Carey's thought is reducible to his style—it is much more than the lovely turns of phrase, more than the sometimes too-lingering appreciation of someone else's turn of phrase. What Carey offers is an approach to the study of communication, in particular the study of journalism, so radically at odds with the usual practice in schools of communication and journalism that one wonders he has not been drummed out of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (let alone elected its president). His essays are perhaps as notable for what they do not quote and do not cite as for what they do. George Gerbner kindly praises this book on its back cover, but there's not a reference to Gerbner here. Nor to Wilbur Schramm, an even more striking omission when you see that Carey is here articulating a whole field—as did Schramm in his own day and in his own, incompatible, way.

Incompatible, not just different. Carey does not quote or cite other "communication scholars" except in rare moments. His citations come from an invisible college of liberal philosophers and social scientists one would more likely find reviewed in the *New York Review of Books* (or writing for it) than on the ordinary syllabus in a mass communication course. Those he chooses are more than anything else seeking to define a moral discourse appropriate for modern society, not a social science discourse fit for inquiry into communication industries. That is what makes Carey's project incompatible with that of most other builders of

social scientific institutions. They have sought science as an escape from moral discourse; Carey has a healthy skepticism for science and seeks to reconstitute a moral discourse.

There is no real meeting ground here, so Carey does not marshal his facts and figures up against Schramm's or Gerbner's or Paul Lazarsfeld's or Ithiel de Sola Pool's or Herbert Schiller's. He is promoting sensibility, not research; his tastes, not his findings. But that is too cavalier a way to put it. The other way is to repeat what I said at the outset: he is seeking to teach. In doing so, he pursues not science but a relationship to an audience—usually a living one. Six of the eight essays in this volume first appeared in edited collections—and it is safe to assume that most or all of them were responses to a request for a paper. Carey obviously talks with the authors, living and dead, he admires—but when he puts these conversations on paper, it is almost always in the context of a living conversation with students and colleagues.

The quest for a moral discourse in communication studies can be described in another way. Sociologist Alan Wolfe has written recently of the sociologist's versus the political scientist's and economist's views of society, and he has argued that each presents an alternative rhetoric.[1] Political scientists offer the state as salve to human needs, economists the market, and sociologists civil society. But the sociological vision, which Wolfe champions, does more than this: it argues that civil society *constitutes* human needs and desires to a large extent, a vision that economists and political scientists (especially the former) do not comprehend. For Wolfe and, in his view, for sociology rightly understood, moral obligation is "a socially constructed practice negotiated between learning agents capable of growth on the one hand and a culture capable of change on the other." It is to sociologists and the social constitution of meaning systems and moral intuitions that Carey is most likely to turn, particularly to the famous Chicago School.

If Wolfe offers one frame for understanding Carey's moral vision, Robert Bellah and colleagues offer another in *Habits of the Heart*.[2] If Wolfe's is a polemic against economists, Bellah's is a polemic against the self-actuating individualism that economists (but not only economists) celebrate, the individualistic tradition of American marketplace democracy. While on one reading Bellah's can be seen as a particularly dispiriting vision of American society, it does suggest that the dominating "discourse" of individualism is not unchallenged, that many Americans who operate within the world of individualist ethics where the prior reality of the individual over society is assumed also

1. Alan Wolfe, *Whose Keeper? Social Science and Moral Obligation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
2. Robert Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (University of California Press, 1985).

speak various "second languages" of communitarian ethics. They cite the biblical and civic republican traditions in particular. In the republican tradition, for instance, citizens are moved by civic virtue, not just self-interest. Within communication studies, Carey can be seen as a spokesmen for all that these second languages represent, a champion especially for the discursive space in which these languages can find expression.

Now, this may be asking too much of a communication professor—reconstituting on a better and broader base the discourse of modern society and modern social inquiry. But, I think Carey would be likely to ask, who better than someone who studies the news media? Who better than someone who has thought seriously about Harold Innis and Marshal McLuhan and the constitution of the self by systems of communication?

In his important 1967 *Antioch Review* essay on Innis and McLuhan, which I wish had been reprinted in his book, Carey sides with Innis over McLuhan as a theorist of communication on three grounds.[3] First, the focus of Innis is on the impact of communications technology on social organization while McLuhan emphasizes the impact of the media on "sensory" organization. Carey finds that Innis's claims are altogether more plausible and that, indeed, much of the evidence McLuhan gathers to suggest that new media reorganize the human senses can better be read to show that new media help reshape social organizations in certain predictable directions. Second, Innis is less deterministic than McLuhan, much more able to recognize the great amount of play any medium provides. Innis's case is that different media produce either a time-binding or space-binding bias to social organization; but to say they produce a "bias" is not to say that the bias will necessarily work itself out. Too many other factors come into account to make this claim. Third, Innis has a kind of backward-looking moral vision: he approves of oral culture and its bias toward preserving values and traditions. McLuhan, in contrast, was a forward-looking technocrat; that is, one who saw new technologies not providing a moral order but replacing any requirement for moral consideration. "For McLuhan, . . . modern technology obviates the necessity of raising moral problems and of struggling with moral dilemmas." For Carey, McLuhan thereby subverted the Innis legacy, turned it on its head, and abandoned altogether the raison d'etre of the human sciences. Carey finds McLuhan's position finally anti-human: "One cannot help being overwhelmed by its awful vulgarity, by its disconnection from whatever sources of joy, happiness, and tragedy remain in this world." McLuhan is not only a positivist (of a very bizarre breed) but one who finds in positivism a substitute for moral inquiry.

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3. James W. Carey, "Harold Adams Innis and Marshall McLuhan," *Antioch Review* 27 (Spring 1967): 5–37.

There is a lot to ponder here and many of the themes of Carey's later work are anticipated. With one notable exception, I think. Neither Innis nor McLuhan have a concept of culture. When Carey contrasts them, he contrasts a historical sociologist who studies the impact of technology on social and economic organization to a psychological prophet, who pronounces, sometimes brilliantly, on the impact of technology on mind and self. Carey notes that for Innis the impact of technology on mind and self is a minor theme and for McLuhan the impact of technology on social organization is a minor theme, but nowhere does either thinker—or Carey—provide some way to connect these themes.

Carey would not, in fact, find the missing concept for half a dozen years. It rattled around in his beloved Dewey and the Chicago School, but it was chiefly articulated and came to take on an intellectual life of its own only when Clifford Geertz in his 1973 *Interpretation of Cultures* advanced his version of it beyond the seminars of the anthropologists,[4] while Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall promoted their version of it, notably in a 1973 conference in London that Carey attended. From these materials, Carey was able to build within American communication studies a platform for a cultural approach to the field.

This volume is the best single place to find that viewpoint within communication studies articulated. It includes an important sampling of Carey's thought, and it gives an opportunity to think through a body of work that, until now, has only appeared in scattered publications strewn through the fields of communication, journalism, American studies, and general criticism.

The first four essays constitute a definition of the field of communication as Carey would like to see it, cultural studies as he has come to build it in the United States within communication. The first essay, an extended meditation on John Dewey, develops the central distinction between a "transmission" model and a "ritual" model of communication. This is the most concise and compelling statement of Carey's quarrel with conventional communication research that, to this day, takes the "transmission" model for granted. The second essay is a reflection on Clifford Geertz and what a communication scholar should find of interest in this multifaceted anthropologist. Carey is in a way to communication what Geertz is to anthropology—a sage, a mentor who urges colleagues not to be bamboozled by one reductionist snare or another but to keep always in mind what human beings are about—meaning-making, symbol-using, conversing creatures.

The third essay takes up a confrontation between Walter Lippmann and John Dewey, Lippmann here seen as entranced by a scientific model in which the task of the press is representa-

4. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic, 1973).

tional accuracy while Dewey champions a view of the press as part of an ongoing democratic conversation. Lippmann is the advocate of the eye, Dewey of the ear—and, as we should expect by now, Carey, like Innis, is on the side of the ear. This section concludes with a 1986 essay on the American pragmatic tradition represented by Dewey and more recently by Richard Rorty, and it shows, as the earlier papers did not, an explicit willingness in Carey to own his own Americanness (despite his attraction to some European thinkers, notably the Birmingham school of cultural studies) and a willingness, in a changing field of communication studies, to see dangers of rigidity to his academic left as well as his Lazarsfeldian right. While he continues to attack mainstream communication research (he calls it "intellectually stagnant"), he insists, against some of his cultural studies colleagues and the know-nothings who take any use of statistics to be prima facie reactionary, that students "articulate with, engage, and build upon the effects tradition we have inherited." He takes as puerile the view that the difference between "administrative" and "critical" research is a difference between supporting or criticizing the status quo. While he rejects Durkheimian functionalism as insensitive to relations of power and to social contradictions, he is equally critical of left-wing versions of cultural studies that would "reduce culture to ideology, social conflict to class conflict, consent to compliance, action to reproduction, or communication to coercion."

I think he is absolutely correct in all these judgments. I hope he may yet have more to say on this. My own sense is that cultural studies or critical studies in its academic incarnations today has reached a point of institutionalization that brings with it great opportunities but also great dangers. The dangers are that it will grow more inbred and speak increasingly in dialects of a semi-private and only semi-coherent sort. It does not yet equal much of the behaviorist tradition in mechanical mindlessness, but it threatens to rival behaviorism in smugness.

The second quartet of essays includes two that criticize what Carey, borrowing from Leo Marx, calls the "rhetoric of the electronic sublime," one that is an extended portrait of the thought of Harold Innis, and a final discussion of the telegraph, the only essay in the volume that is directly a contribution to the history of a communication technology (rather than intellectual history, criticism, or intellectual biography).

The disjunction between the two sets of essays is important. The trick for Carey is to find inspiration for communication as a field in the technological determinism or near-determinism of Innis and McLuhan that places communication at the center of the study of human society, while distancing himself from any view that makes the role of technology in human affairs completely amenable to causal or functional analysis. That is, a technology (like the telegraph) is not just a cause with effects or

a pulley with functions but a cultural creation that people interpret as they use it.

The "culture" of cultural studies, a la Carey, is hard to pin down. Is "culture"—conventionally and unconventionally understood "texts"—the subject of study? Or is a "cultural" orientation emphasized in an approach to any variety of subjects? And if it is a "cultural" orientation, does this mean some form of post-structuralism that conceives social life as a set of texts, readings, and interpretations? That is one version. Or a view that emphasizes the power of ideology, recognizing power relations in the world and culture as a form and field of politics? That is a second version, one heavily but not exclusively Marxist. Or some anthropologically inspired notion of the complex interplay of systems of symbols and systems of social relations? That is yet a third, distinct version.

As I see it, all three versions coexist in cultural studies and communication. All three are at odds with the scientific pretensions of traditional behaviorism. In Carey's own work, there is a willingness to listen to version 1—but with little patience for theory-spinning removed from social practice. There is clearly some involvement with version 2—but with no allegiance to the priority of class as an ontological category. For one thing, nations—both the Irish and the American—mean too much to Carey, and Marxist cultural studies has nothing useful to say about nationalism or national identity. For another, Carey's ear is just too acute, picking up echoes not only of class or privilege but of religion, region, schooling, psyche, and rhetorical situation in the ideas he examines. And he is, after all, a respecter of ideas and intellect; ideas worthy of consideration are never ultimately merely covers for power.

Version 3 is more congenial to Carey, but even here, he seems more an interpreter of Clifford Geertz than a user; when he uses cultural theory, it tends to come from a fourth, theoretically underdeveloped terrain: American studies and the "myth and symbol" school. The "myth and symbol" school refers to the work of Henry Nash Smith, Leo Marx, Alan Trachtenberg, and others in the American studies movement, and was labeled as such by Bruce Kuklick in his 1972 critique of that school.[5] Critical attack notwithstanding, Carey has borrowed from this school not only one of his central subjects—the response of American culture to technology and industrialism—but the school's seriousness about ideas, a devotional attention to key works (for the American studies scholars, Hawthorne, Melville, and Twain; above all, for Carey, a set of thinkers less concentrated in a single time and place—the Canadians Innis and McLuhan, the Americans Dewey and Geertz), and a respect for complexity and, as we

5. Bruce Kuklick, "Myth and Symbol in American Studies," *American Quarterly* 24 (October 1972): 435–50.

say today, the "multivocality" or "dialogism" of texts. While Carey's perspective authorizes academic attention to popular culture, his own sensibility is not altogether ecumenical about cultural forms. The part of popular culture he attends to most persistently—the news—is centrally concerned in defining and shaping political action, and that is why he cares about it. He is not deeply interested in popular entertainment or resistant life styles that fail to engage articulately in dialog. His interest in Geertz is not that Geertz explicates the Balinese cockfight or that someone else might try the same approach with cricket or baseball but that Geertz provides an unusually powerful refutation of behaviorist models of social research.

Carey does not sort out the differences among these views of culture. I do not think he need do so. They are overlapping, not contradictory. Less happily, he does not sort out the relationship of these concepts of culture to the role of technology in society. The disjunction between the two sets of essays in this book is never really overcome—and let me make a suggestion about why. The essays on technology are too firmly rooted in the work of Harold Innis and others who did not understand culture. They are full of interesting commentary about the cultural response to technology, but in that formulation (as in the telegraph essay), all the weight is on the telegraph and the cultural responses seem its pawns. The ways in which the use of the telegraph itself was culturally conditioned gets no exploration here at all. This is not just a matter of who owned and who used the telegraph but of how those owners and users (and others) conceived, imagined the technology they were learning to manage. Yes, as Carey emphasizes, the telegraph eliminated the distinction between transportation and communication; yes, it enabled the standardization of time zones and a reconceptualization of time. But this was never (as Carey knows but does not in this essay adequately conceptualize) the telegraph as a technology in itself; this was the telegraph as an economic asset in use in a particular culture with an unusual geography with a use for railroads, a passion for exploitation, and an impatience about speech.

To take one small example: did "telegraphic" language develop in the same way in European uses of the telegraph? Or was the efficiency of telegraphic style something American culture was particularly prone to invent? Carey, like many others, observes that the telegraph brought into existence the lean style Ernest Hemingway "learned as a correspondent." It is not so simple as that. I have read reports from Washington in New York and Chicago newspapers fifty and seventy-five years after the first newspaper use of the telegraph, and that language remains by today's standards formal and florid. If the telegraph encouraged a leaner style, it did nothing to assure its use. Mark Twain's invention of the vernacular in prose fiction may have been just

as or more important a driving force to cultural change as the telegraph, in this respect.

This is not to deny that some technologies have some logics of their own that give some direction to social and cultural change. It is to suggest that a proper understanding of culture will urge us not to believe in any such thing as technology-in-itself. Technology-in-use is organized by geography, by economics, by politics—and also by cultural presuppositions. It seems to me that is the lesson that part 1 of Carey's book offers Part 2, and that part 2 did not assimilate.

What remains, in the end, is a body of thinking about technology, about culture, and most vitally and persuasively about other thinkers who write on technology and society and culture. This book offers only a portion of Carey's work—the most important missing element is his thinking on journalism and the news. That work could provide the core of the next book of Carey essays, a book I would expect to be as wonderfully graceful and as deeply engaged in the ongoing conversation of a democratic society as is this one.

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TECHNOLOGY AS A TOTEM FOR CULTURE

And a Defense of the Oral Tradition

James W. Carey

EVERY WRITER NEEDS, AND usually desires, a critic: Someone to correct and complete his work via attentive reading of the text, nuanced understanding of both the said and unsaid, and a generous regard for the sheer struggle to get it right. What one usually acquires, however, are critics trained by Evelyn Wood, speed readers whose eyes never stop on a parenthetical expression or qualifying phrase and who never understand that a critic is less an opponent than a collaborator in discourse. I have been rather more fortunate than I deserve in acquiring the three critics represented here, and, when one adds to them David Nord's careful, though firmly opposed, essay in *Journalism History*, I feel multiply blessed.[1]

The issues raised by Professors Schudson, Marvin, McIntyre, and Nord, taken together, require an extended essay or even a short book for anything like the close analysis their thoughtful and sometimes telling comments deserve. While generosity and real collaboration demand nothing less, I must in this limited space restrict myself to a brief, abstract, and somewhat theoretical commentary on the relation of technology and culture. This is the issue Schudson and Marvin find most in need of revision and on which they expend some good-natured but forceful badgering. I will not, then, treat the issues raised by McIntyre and Nord, which relate most directly to journalism history. That I will save for a subsequent essay. Nor will I, though it often divides me strategically and morally from my critics, treat the relationship, implicit in my essays, between teaching, research, and, in my case, administration. Professor Schudson's comments on teaching and research leave me less than comfortable. For the last twenty years I have been an administrator who

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1. David Paul Nord, "A Plea for *Journalism* History," *Journalism History* 15 (Spring 1988): 8–15.

simultaneously teaches and writes and, as a result, the essays in *Communication As Culture* are often a deflected meditation on the concrete practices of the academy. The keywords of the book—*culture, communication, technology, community, time,* and *space*—were thought through, first of all, in relation to the troubles characteristic of university life, and the style of scholarship therein reflects an attempt to hook up useful teaching and scholarship with the black arts of administration.

Professor Schudson *is* correct that *Communication As Culture* breaks in half and there is an uneasy tension, never adequately faced, between the two portions of the book. Part 1 is a group of essays on cultural theory; part 2 is a group of essays on various problems in the analysis of communication technology. The two sections are related not as theory and application but as point and counterpoint, as two halves of a somewhat discordant conversation I carry on with myself. This disjunction and tension comes about because I have been unable to seamlessly integrate the terms that dominate the two sections, culture and technology, and, to my knowledge, neither has anyone else. When I started to write about these problems, the terms *technology* and *culture* occupied the position in my thought that base and superstructure took up in another tradition: the relation between the forces of production and the thing produced. Of all the metaphors with which we describe modern society—the consumer society, post-industrial, late capitalist, the society of the spectacle—the technological society, freed of the some of the connotations suggested by Jacques Ellul, best captures the drift and direction of contemporary life. Thus, the essays seek to overcome, albeit hesitantly and clumsily, the opposition between technology and culture. As a result, I can find no useful distinction between "technology in itself" and "technology in use," though I am not blind to the unintended consequences of technology. Whatever defects remain in the resulting analysis do not derive from the legacy of Harold Innis, "who did not understand culture." Innis remains, or so I stubbornly believe, the single greatest student of communications on this continent, and my essays aim to develop the cultural theory, centered in technology, implicit in his work.

Professor Schudson notes of my work that "all the weight is on the technology and the cultural responses seem its pawn." But this, again, is to draw the very distinction between technology and culture I wish to deny: that the world can be divided into technological actions and cultural responses. Similarly, it makes no sense to speak of how the "telegraph was culturally conditioned," as if the world is made up of unconditioned material artifacts and cultural conditioners.

Let me try to straighten out the technology-culture relation via a series of indirect and flanking moves that I hope speak to the concerns of my critics.

Among the many valued legacies from the work of the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss is his long struggle to overcome the traditional distinction between nature and culture. Against the view that nature stands whole and complete outside of language, that we speak a language transparent to nature, that we speak the language nature intended us to speak, Levi-Strauss argued that nature was, at the least, doubly articulated. First, nature was an inscribed system of meanings formed out of binary oppositions. In every act of apprehension nature was ingested into culture because nature had to be articulated through a code, a code that was never the only one possible or useful. Once articulated into a code—once animals, for example, were arrayed via some system of meaning into hierarchy and given totemic representation—natural objects become not just things of the world but things to think with. Thus, the model of the relations among animals could become a secondary model of the relations between human societies: totemic representation of clans served as a model of society. The distinction between nature and culture is, therefore, always latent in customary attitudes and behavior but it is a principal of language, not of the world. There is no way for us to get beneath or outside of language, to encounter an unmediated real. In effacing, then, the line between nature and culture, Levi-Strauss simultaneously effaced all the other dualisms that grew out of it: the distinction between the subjective and the objective, the self and the other, truth and opinion, the real and the fantastical. This is the line of attack, now quite common, which I appropriated in cultural studies to, as Schudson correctly points out, overcome the behaviorist model of social research, and, also, to overcome the standard model for the writing of journalism history.

When I began writing, the phrase "technology and culture" had displaced the phrase "nature and culture" because the built and constituted environment had taken over from the natural one as the *situs* within which we live our lives. However, the opposition of technology and culture continued the older disposition at the core of modern thinking. That is, technology was assimilated to the mental pole once occupied by nature; technology was the site of the real, the true, the other, the natural, and the objective. On this view, technology was not created but discovered; it was found lying artlessly about in the bosom of nature, encased in a series of geological deposits uncovered in a routine of excavating the natural. Thus one excavation, one discovery, begat another so that technologies emerged in the order of nature intended them to be discovered. And, in turn, human history was conceived as a long series of technological discoveries: the age of iron or bronze or the neotechnic and paleotechnic eras, or the industrial age and the electronic age. The entire human story was written off the metaphor of technology thereby effectively treating, as Lewis Mumford never tired of

pointing out, all our haphazard achievements in language, art religion, moral regulation, and governance as so many epiphenomena.

A lovely phrase of William James, one that anticipates Levi-Strauss, condenses in an image a more useful relation of technology and culture. In speaking of nature James said, the trail of the serpent is overall and the serpent is us. What is left of nature is what we have decided to leave; there is virtually no reach of nature unmarked by, untraced by the human mind. Technology is, to twist a phrase of Ernest Cassirer, the place of the mind in nature or, better, the place of human practices in nature.

In short, just as there is no nature here and culture there as walled off categories, there is no technology here and culture there, no meaningful sense of technology in itself and technology in use. Technology is thoroughly cultural from the outset.

The mind of Levi-Strauss's primitives acted by detaching objects from the place of their found occurrence, bringing them forward and attaching a meaning to them. So, distinctions among animals, distinctions between day and night, land and water, male and female—what we can still call, ala Mary Douglas, natural symbols however culturally coded—were fixated with a meaning that could then become a secondary modelling system. We of a presumably more advanced tribe think less by manipulating the surface features of the world, though we do a lot of that, and more by layering the environment with abstractions (simulated systems of digitized meaning, for example). We also have become more adept at penetrating into the body of nature and coercing it to behave in accord with our abstractions. We have created then a secondary shell, inside nature, which constitutes our environment. This built environment both shields us from and coerces the natural. However, this activity is thoroughly cultural and not some means of getting in touch with our real, that is, natural selves.

Technology is cultural, then, in a number of distinct senses. First, technology is a creation and therefore an expression of human purposes. It embodies concrete lifeways and anticipates that which it pretends to mirror. In this sense technology is a symbol *of* (it represents how the world works) and a symbol *for* (it coerces the world into working in terms of the representation). Second, once constituted technology must be propitiated. In his *Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Joseph Campbell compares the modern dilemma with that of primitive peoples:

> For the primitive hunting peoples of those remotest human millenniums when the saber-tooth tiger, the mammoth and the lesser presences of the animal kingdom were the primary manifestations of what was alien—the source at the once of danger and of sustenance—the great human problem was to become linked psychologically to the task of sharing

> the wilderness with these beings. An unconscious identification took place, and this was finally rendered conscious in the half human, half animal figures of the totem-ancestors . . . through acts of literal imitation . . . an effective annihilation of the human ego was accomplished and society achieved a cohesive organization.[2]

We are not spared, in a technological age, from the need to annihilate the ego, to merge it into its environment. To twist some unlikely lines of Marshall McLuhan, if people in earlier ages quelled their terror by putting on animal strait jackets, we unconsciously do the same thing vis a vis the machine. As humans ritually and psychologically got into animal skins so we have already gone much of the distance toward assuming and propagating the behavior mechanisms of the machines that both menace and sustain us. Kenneth Burke observed during the New York electrical blackout that if it continued for long humans would pray for electricity as others prayed for rain. And, in moments of massive technological breakdowns, such as the Challenger explosion, there is always a predictable search for human error. How can the machines, on which we have staked our lives, fail us?

The rituals of theory themselves are ways of propitiating technology. If human imagination operates mainly by a process of analogy, a "seeing-as" comprehension of the less intelligible by the more (the universe is a hogan, the world a wedding) the main source of modern analogy (the brain is a computer) is technology itself. Nowhere is this more vivid than in the subject Carolyn Marvin mentions, the human body. That body is no longer seen as the expression of divine purpose or the site of an individual soul but as a scientific field and a utopian fantasy. By analogy, the body has been understood as a particular kind of machine. This understanding is not merely a symbol or metaphor of the body but a symbol and metaphor for the body. The effort to harness the "human motor" has transformed our understanding of work, society, and modernity itself. As Anson Rabinbach's *The Human Motor* demonstrates, the motorized view of the body gave rise to a particular scientific utopia: the vision of society without fatigue, arrest, or wearing out.[3] Alas, our bodies consistently disappoint us as we seek in technology an antidote to our anxiety of limits.

It is this integral view of the technology/culture couplet that the essays in *Communication As Culture* slowly discover and embody. There is no notion of technological determinism here for that view requires an argument from an independent to a

2. Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), 390.

3. Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York: Basic, 1990).

dependent variable. Rather, it is a view that characterizes technological artifacts, at least in a provisional and hypothetical way, as homunculi: concrete embodiments of human purposes, social relations, and forms of organization. To view technology as homunculus suggests that certain technologies or certain artifacts imaginatively constitute, express, and compress into themselves the dominant features of the surrounding social world. A homunculus is a society writ small. It is also the human person writ small insofar as it serves not merely as a template for producing social relations but a template for producing human nature as well.

This is not, as mentioned, a question of determination or causality, at least in any normal sense. There is absolutely no suggestion that the computer or the printing press or the telegraph causes or determines the essential features of society or human nature. But they do not, to use Raymond Williams's rewriting of the notion of determination, merely set limits or create pressures. When technology functions as a master symbol, it operates not as an external and causal force but as a blueprint: something that makes phenomena intelligible and through that intelligibility sets forth the conditions for its secondary reproduction. Once adopted as fact and symbol, as a model of and instrument for, it works its independent will not by virtue of its causality but by virtue of its intelligibility or textuality: its ability to realize an aesthetically pleasing, politically regnant, socially powerful order of things.

For Durkheim the totem served as a homunculus; for Marx it was the commodity. My argument has been that for the modern period technology as a gross complex (mechanics, electronics) or as particular artifacts (printing press, computer), better suits the purpose of analysis. But it must be technology seen less as a physical contrivance than as a cultural performance: more on the model of a theatre that contains and shapes our interaction than a natural force acting upon us from the outside. David Bolter catches something of that cultural performance in his notion of a defining technology:

> A defining technology develops links, metaphorical or otherwise, with a culture's science, philosophy, or literature; it is always available to serve as a metaphor, example, model or symbol. A defining technology resembles a magnifying glass, which collects and focuses seemingly disparate ideas in a culture into one bright, sometimes piercing ray. Technology does not call forth major cultural changes by itself, but it does bring ideas into a new focus be explaining or exemplifying them in new ways to large audiences.[4]

4. David Bolter, *Turing's Man: Western Culture in the Computer Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 11.

Henry Adams's image of the dynamo, a condensation symbol of a whole array of power technologies, better served as homunculus for the late nineteenth century. Power technology effected the very displacements—the removal of time, place and vision—that laid the groundwork for the creation of commodities. But information technology, by the time of the *Grundrisse* and *Capital*, had already begun its displacement of power technology as the homunculus of industrial civilization. This was the argument I applied to the telegraph in the book: the separation of communication from transportation and their reintegration through a switched circuit provided the model of social organization for the 1840s onward. Today, power machines are no longer agents on their own, subject only to direct human intervention; now they must submit to the hegemony of the computer that coordinates their effects. And that is why Bolter says that:

> As a calculating machine, a machine that controls machines, the computer does occupy a special place in our cultural landscape. It is the technology that more than any other defines our age. . . . For us today, the computer constantly threatens to break out of the tiny corner of human affairs (scientific measurement and business accounting) that it was built to occupy, to contribute instead to a general redefinition of certain basic relationships: the relationship of science to technology, of knowledge to technical power, and, in the broadest sense, of mankind to the world of nature.[5]

There is one last matter to be treated. Professor Marvin is disturbed by a note of romanticism in my essays particularly when I follow Harold Innis and John Dewey and valorize the voice and the oral tradition, the community and public life. She is gentle and generous in voicing this frequent charge and that I much appreciate. She is right in one sense. I am no believer in an unconditional notion of technological progress, and the essays on the electronic revolution, the rhetoric of the electrical sublime, and the history of the future attempt to demonstrate why. I believe that all social change, including technological change, involves genuine gains and losses. Nothing is costless. The spread of literacy, while a spectacular achievement, meant that certain capacities had to atrophy and valuable experience was lost. Like all pragmatists, I cannot shake a somewhat tragic view of life: that the biggest technological disappointment is a technological prayer answered. Technology cannot reconcile conflicting interests and values. No matter how intelligent and humane our choices there are, William James insists, "real losses and real losers." We live in a dangerous and adventurous and serious world, James goes on to say, and "the very seriousness we

5. Bolter, *Turing's Man*, 8–9.

attribute to life means that ineluctable noes and losses form part of it, there are genuine sacrifices and that something permanently drastic and bitter always remains at the bottom of the cup."[6] James's tragic sense is not only central to pragmatism, but it provides an illuminating perspective from which to survey the problems and predicaments of people.

Thus, I believe that the technological reorganization of life in the modern world involves genuine gains and losses, and such losses are abbreviated in phrases like the "loss of community" and the "decay of democracy." It is not that we lost something we once had but that we have been robbed of the illusion that we will ever have it. The losses are continuously disguised by cultural work, by phrases like "technological progress" and "cultural lag." Art and literature, theory and practice are often attempts to scorch over the past, to rob it of a possible order of value, to render older lifeways in the town and village not merely archaic but destitute. Our entire life, propelled by technological culture, has been an attempt to escape the constraints of the proximate. The achieved view of the small town as the unrelieved seat of barrenness and bigotry, class conflict and exploitation, is just that: an achieved cultural construction. The creation of a modern and national society required a burning over of an agricultural society and the small town credo that justified it. Just as the emergence of the postmodern depends on the iconoclastic destruction of the modern in all its forms, the emergence of the modern and progressive era relied upon the denigration of that phase of history that immediately preceded it. Americans are, of course, congenital creators of community, cities on a hill, who then promptly try to figure a way to get out of town. Technology, in the cultural sense I have been characterizing it, is the vehicle by which this never successful transcendence is carried through. We never quite transcend time and space for we run into our limits: diurnal animals need, for a significant portion of each day, a safe and protected place. Nonetheless, we have chosen at every point the national over the local, the distant over the proximate, the private over the public, and the bureaucratic over the communal.

But that aside, there is a deeper reason for valorizing the oral, public, and communal, and using those notions to critique the printing press, the computer, and the information society. One frequently hears expressions such as "the problem is not the technology but the uses to which we put it" or "it is not the technology but the values which govern it." Such phrases reproduce the image of natural technology and artificial culture. But again, this assumes we are dealing with two separate things—technology here and culture there. The phrases assume there is

6. As cited by Sidney Hook, *Pragmatism and the Tragic Sense of Life* (New York: Basic, 1974), 5.

some archimedean point outside of technology by which technology can be critiqued, or controlled or subject to some order of purposes. But there is no such archimedean point. We can think of technology only within the massive assumptions of modern thought. To think values, to even use the word, is to be within such assumptions. Modern moral striving, as George Grant has put it, the striving to create free and equal human beings, leads inevitably back to a trust in the expansion of that very technology we are attempting to judge.[7] The development of modern society required the criticism of all older standards of human excellence. The social has at its heart the overcoming of chance, and that overcoming leads us to judge every situation as solvable in terms of technology. In other words, we have available to us no ethics or values or morals or purposes with which to judge technology because our notions of value, morality, and purpose have been forged in the same cultural container with the technology. Technology and value are merely two sides of the same coin, which is why phrases like "journalism ethics" or "technological values" seem an oxymoron and why Alsadair MacIntyre characterizes the entire modern period as "after virtue."[8]

While this is generally true, it is particularly true in the United States, for we are the only society that has no history of its own from before the age of progress. We are a nation created out of modern technology and we define ourselves in its image. That, in a way, is our tragedy but one we cannot easily accept.

Innis's emphasis on the oral tradition, the need for a bias of time (and a form of communication appropriate to it) to offset the bias of space, was an attempt to hold on to and rejuvenate the only tradition older than the mechanics available to us, namely the republican tradition. The oral and republican tradition proves almost impossible to understand any longer for it is a tradition that predates the modern technological world. Our attempts to think outside of the technical complex take less the form of romantic nostalgia than of futurism. But the future always turns out to be a site where all "cultural lags" have disappeared and all notions of value and purpose have been absorbed into the monotechnical system of electronics.

The oral tradition is not simply a group of people sitting around chatting one another up but a homunculus for an entire way of life that if institutionalized might provide some means of offsetting the bias of modern technology. The point is not to eliminate technology (no one wants that) but to contain or balance off its bias via an alternative principle and form of communication. The plea for time, for the oral tradition, for virtue is certainly a slim reed on which to hang much hope. But it is about all we have to contain the technology that is, in

7. George Grant, *Technology and Empire* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969), 31–34.
8. Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981).

de Tocqueville's words, "the hidden source of energy, the life principle," the ultimate current running below the surfaces of our lives.

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Historiographical Essay

TELLING THE STORY OF STORY

Journalism History and Narrative Theory

Jack Lule

The Story of Evolution tells us how, quite as there was a time when the geological and biological processes of Earth went on wholly devoid of human Story, so the conditions that at present "comprehend" the human animal will eliminate the creatures whose Stories seek to "comprehend" them, hence things will again proceed sans Story.
— Kenneth Burke, *Attitudes Toward History*

BURKE SUGGESTS THAT HUMAN time is characterized by human story, that an essential part of being human is telling the story of being human. For now, there is much to tell. Humans struggle to comprehend, through story, conditions ominous as dark clouds, conditions that humans have made. Blackly, Burke predicts that human story will fail to comprehend and once again the Earth, once again unnamed, will go on without story.

Such are the issues taken up by contemporary narrative theory. Primarily an interdisciplinary enterprise drawing upon scholarship in philosophy, literature, anthropology, and linguistics—as well as history—narrative theory, at its most basic, is concerned with the form and content of the story. At its broadest, it investigates the extent to which the story is an essential aspect of being human.

For historians, the term "narrative" has been a contentious site. Long used for the traditional, story-telling method favored by many historians, the narrative model was challenged in past decades by the more scientific methods of social history. The turn though to narrative theory is more than a re-adoption of narrative form.[1] Most often, narrative theory implies work on

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1. See Lawrence Stone's interpretation of the return to narrative as "old history" in "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *The Past and the Present* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 74–96; and see Mark

"the particular characteristics, resources, conventions, or structures of historiographical narration."[2]

Journalism historians—even those most quantitatively inclined—thus have some stakes in this story. Although in many ways narrative theory has confirmed the nature and process of historical inquiry, it has also challenged some established ways of thinking about history. Narrative theory can inform understanding of the primary material that journalism historians work with, such as diaries, letters, news accounts, even economic data. And it can inform understanding of historians' essays and books—themselves narratives.

The purpose of this essay is to review some important works in modern narrative theory.[3] In particular, the essay will attempt to identify those aspects of narrative theory with implications for study and practice in journalism history.

Traditionally, review essays proceed chronologically, tracing the development of thought in a discipline. Yet because only portions of the development of narrative theory relate to journalism history, a chronology would have to abide matters of limited importance to the field.[4]

Thus, rather than trace the development of thinking on narrative, this essay will isolate in that literature four themes of

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Phillips's critique of Stone's position, "The Revival of Narrative: Thoughts on a Current Historiographical Debate," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 53 (Winter 1983–84): 149–65.

2. Phillips, "Revival of Narrative," 149.

3. The works reviewed here are: Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Albert Cook, *History/Writing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Arthur C. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Clifford Geertz "Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic, 1983), 19–35; Dominick LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Donald E. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vols. 1–2, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, 1985); Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*, trans. Mina Moore-Rinvolucri (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984); and Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); and *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). This review includes authors and works whose primary focus is narrative and history. Thus, although surely worthy of attention, the wide-ranging work of authors such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and others have not been included.

4. For a discussion on the development of narrative theory, see Wallace Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), and Paul Rabinow and William M. Sullivan, "The Interpretive Turn: Emergence of an Approach," in *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader*, ed. Rabinow and Sullivan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 1–21. A representative collection of accessible essays in narrative theory can be found in W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., *On Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

particular relevance to journalism historians—the character of historical events, the relation of story and plot, the nature of explanation, and the bond between time and narrative. Those themes stand as important components of narrative theory but achieve even greater prominence in the context of journalism history.

THE HISTORICAL EVENT

> What do historians really fabricate when they "make history"? What are they "working on"? What do they produce? Interrupting their erudite perambulations around the rooms of the National Archives, for a moment they detach themselves from the monumental studies that will place them among their peers, and walking out into the street, they ask, "What in God's name is this business? What about the bizarre relations I am keeping with current society and, through the intermediary of my technical activities, with death"?[5]

With these evocative words, Michel de Certeau announces a primary theme of *The Writing of History*: History is a labor of and against death. Betraying its French origins, the book is a kind of lyrical, hermeneutic historiography; it attempts to understand how history has been understood.[6] Certeau is possessed by the past; he studies men and women of the past who studied the past. And yet he works amidst life, in the present. Historiography, for him, thus embraces loss and yet "denies loss by appropriating to the present the privilege of recapitulating the past as a form of knowledge. A labor of death and a labor against death."[7]

Certeau proceeds in this labor by organizing previous theories of history into four sections—productions of place, productions of time, systems of Freudian psychology, and systems of meaning—and analyzing how they have come to grips with the past. A primary finding: Historians' conceptions of the past are intimately tied, he shows, to their conceptions of events. Certeau's comprehensive rethinking of the nature of events thus becomes basic to his study.

Events, he says, are not discrete and precise happenings. They are projections of the historian; indeed, events "belong" as much to the historian as to history. While not engaged in an abstract argument over whether events occur in real time, Certeau nevertheless wants to emphasize how events have come to be

5. Certeau, *Writing of History*, 56.
6. Composed while Certeau divided his time between the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in France and the University of California, *The Writing of History* reflects methodological interests of U.S. historiography and the philosophical emphases of the French.
7. Certeau, *Writing of History*, 5.

selected and recorded, how they have been described and—especially—how they come to have meaning.

Throughout "the writing of history," he finds that events really are a matter of method. "The event is that which must *delimit*, if there is to be intelligibility," he says. Allowing the historian to confine and define study, "the event is the means thanks to which disorder is turned into order. The event does not explain, but permits an intelligibility."[8]

What is the relationship between method and event? Certeau attempts to show, with varying degrees of success, that historians' conception and use of events are a function of ideology. Religious history in the seventeenth century, the ethnography of Jean de Lery, Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*—all are shown to be a result of influences from culture, religion, politics, historical training, language. The order, intelligibility, and meaning that historians derive from events are seen as political definitions, ideological demarcations.

Like Certeau, Dominick LaCapra is concerned with the relationship between ideology and the historian's conception of events and methods. In *History and Criticism*, his goal is to critique the dominant, documentary approach to history and to offer a narrative perspective, concentrating especially on reflexive and self-critical aspects of modern rhetorical and literary theory. LaCapra's larger aim is to encourage a critical historiography that takes up the cause of the oppressed.[9]

He begins with a brief but insightful critique of the documentary model of research in which "the historical imagination is limited to plausibly filling gaps in the record, and 'throwing new light' on a phenomenon requires the discovery of hitherto unknown information." He argues that historians make "a fetish of archival research, attempting to discover some 'unjustly neglected' fact, figure, or phenomenon, and dreaming of a 'thesis' to which his or her proper name may be attached."[10]

In this archival fetish, LaCapra recognizes the historian's quest for scientific status. And he suggests that this quest proceeds at the expense of a narrative approach:

> Until recently, historians looking to the social sciences for guidance might denigrate the role of narrative in history and emphasize the need to subject "data" to analysis, hypothesis-formation, and model-building in the interest of elaborating valid explana-

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8. Certeau, *Writing of History*, 96.
9. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 80.
10. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 18, 21. Similarly, Hayden White writes, "Moreover, as history has become increasingly professionalized and specialized, the ordinary historian, wrapped up in the search for the elusive document that will establish him as an authority in a narrowly defined field, has had little time to inform himself of the latest developments in the more remote fields of art and science." *Tropics of Discourse*, 28.

> tions of historical phenomena. If the "artistic" side of history entered the picture at all, it would be through the narrow gate of a rather perfunctory idea of "good style" in writing that was accessible to the proverbial "generally educated person."[11]

LaCapra does not advocate discarding the documentary approach. He asks instead, "How may the necessary components of a documentary model without which historiography would be unrecognizable be conjoined with rhetorical features?"[12] His provisional answer is a new reading and interpretation of documents already studied. This new reading would be undertaken with a more sophisticated sense of documents *as events*.

"Rarely," he says, "do historians see significant texts as important events in their own right that pose complex problems in interpretation and have intricate relations to other events and to various pertinent contexts." He charges that historians "ignore the textual dimensions of documents"—that is, "the manner in which documents 'process' or rework material in ways intimately bound up with larger sociocultural and political processes." Studying documents as events, he says, would subject them to comprehensive social and ideological scrutiny—as well as a kind of rhetorical scrutiny that questions just "how texts do what they do."[13]

An expanded, narrative perspective on documents and events would bring about other changes in the writing of history, LaCapra states. The less political and increasingly methodological documentary approach spawned research "of little significance or even diversionary both for the oppressed in society and for those attempting to develop a critical historiography."[14] Critical self-reflection, he says, should bring about a recommitment to the peoples and events whose stories have not been told.

LaCapra also hopes that a narrative approach might loosen the constricted language of history "that avoids or represses significant aspects of an exchange with the past, including the role of 'internally dialogized' styles in history that involve self-questioning, humor, stylization, irony, parody, and self-parody." Always his emphasis is on dialogue and persuasion. "Within this context, a 'conversation' with the past involves the historian in argument and even polemic—both with others and within the self—over approaches to understanding that are bound up with institutional and political issues."[15]

Ultimately, LaCapra, like other narrative theorists, is hoping for flexibility, room to maneuver. He seeks a dialogue with a dominant, ungenerous spirit, found sometimes in journalism

11. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 117.
12. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 35.
13. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 38.
14. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 80.
15. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 119, 36.

history, that "requires the ostracism or castigation of those historians who do not subscribe to the one true way of practicing history."[16]

THE STORY AND THE PLOT

Perhaps no one has done more to explore the implications of narrative for history than Hayden White. In numerous essays and books, White has put forth a complex and challenging approach to understanding history through narrative. He is perhaps best known for the development of what he has called tropological analysis, the study of history through rhetorical tropes—metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. The tropes are "strategies of historical interpretation."[17] They serve a structural function in the writing of history. In telling a story, White says, an historian is guided, at times unknowingly, by the form and function—"the content of the form"—of particular tropes.[18] This poetics of historiography White has called "metahistory," and much of his work has introduced, elaborated upon, and displayed his scheme.

In developing that scheme, White has made some fundamental assumptions of interest to journalism historians. A key assumption throughout much of his work: White rejects distinctions between history and fiction based on "the real." Breaking down barriers in place since Aristotle, White argues that similarities between history and fiction override distinctions based on history's grounding in "true facts." He demands a reconsideration of history in terms of fiction.

What unites history and fiction? Narrative. White considers history as brethren to fiction because of likeness in narrative form and content. His oft-cited definition reveals his intention: The historical work, he says, is "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse."[19]

This assumption has large implications for the writing of history. Contrary to historians who posit that they discover or find a story through rigorous, methodical interrogation of events in the historical record, White argues that no set of historical events can in themselves constitute a story. Historians, like novelists, *make* stories. "The events are *made* into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterizations, motific repetition, vari-

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16. LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 137. Hayden White too notes "a sort of conditioned response among historians which has led to a resistance throughout the entire profession to almost any kind of critical self-analysis." *Tropics of Discourse*, 28.

17. White, *Metahistory*, xi.

18. A full discussion of White's theory of tropes is not possible here. A useful introduction can be found in White, *Metahistory*, 1–42, and White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 1–25 and 197–217.

19. White, *Metahistory*, ix; also 2.

ation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like—in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a novel or play."[20]

A second and related assumption embedded in White's work offers useful but difficult distinctions between plot and story. For White, plot is a sequence of happenings, the chronicle of events that the historian finds and selects, using all the rigor and method espoused by the documentary school.

Story, however, is structure and form; plots are shaped into stories of a certain kind. Using the same plot, one historian might construct a tragedy, another a comedy. The decision is not objective, methodological, but creative, literary. The historian "progressively identifies the *kind of story* he is telling—comedy, tragedy, romance, epic, or satire, as the case might be."[21] Elsewhere, White has written, "Narrative becomes a *problem* only when we wish to give to *real* events the *form* of story. It is because real events do not offer themselves as stories that their narrativization is so difficult."[22]

Distinctions between story and plot thus are key for White. They offer a means for comparing history and fiction. They supply the foundation for his metahistory. And they allow him to find a balance between the unruly events of life and the deep structure he finds in history.

But distinctions can also be hazy; the two are intimately related: "There can be no story without a plot by which to make of it a story of a particular kind."[23] And the distinction, White admits, challenges traditional approaches: "The 'historical method'—as the classic historiographers of the nineteenth century understood the term—consisted of a willingness to go to the archives without any preconceptions whatsoever, to study the documents found there, and then to write a story about the events attested by the documents."[24]

White's thesis does affirm the necessity of archival research. The events—the plots—of historical records are not produced from the historians' imaginations but must be unearthed by and derived from research. But White provides an alternative perspective on the writing of history. The story is created and constructed by the historian; and in an important way the story prefigures the material. "What the historian must bring to his

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20. White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 84. Paul Ricoeur also has written of the "kinship" between history and fiction that would extend even into the field of criticism in which "historiography and literary criticism are both called upon and are invited together to form a grand narratology." *Time and Narrative* 2:156–57.
21. White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 59.
22. Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *On Narrative*, 4; also see Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," *History and Theory* 23 (February 1984): 1–33.
23. White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 62.
24. White, *Metahistory*, 141.

consideration of the record," he says, "are general notions of the *kinds of stories* that might be found there."[25]

A less structural approach to narrative is offered by the French historian Paul Veyne. Like White, Veyne assigns particular significance to plot as a sequence of events. Unlike White, Veyne wants nothing to do with overarching tropical subtleties and distinctions. Indeed, in *Writing History*, Veyne suggests that the aim of history is only and merely the understanding of particular plots. And there is nothing mysterious about the process. Facts "have a natural organization that the historian finds ready-made," Veyne says, and the "effort of historical work consists precisely in discovering that organization."[26]

Historians, Veyne says, must give themselves over to plot. Facts can be collected but "the fact is nothing without its plot." Explanations can be provided but "explanation is nothing but the way in which the account is arranged in a comprehensible plot." Simply, Veyne says, "the historian explains plots."[27]

What method does the historian use to find these ready-made plots? Veyne wants to be provocative. "History has no method," he claims. "In order to understand the past, it is sufficient to view it with the same eyes we use to understand the world around us or the life of a foreign people." In fact, Veyne says, the method of history "has made no progress since Herodotus or Thucydides" and "the first concern of philosophers who profess to follow a historical methodology is, when they become historians, to return to the evidence of common sense."[28]

Veyne perhaps is disingenuous. *Discovering* a ready-made plot is no easy matter, he acknowledges; the historian must find organization—plot—in the messy matter of human lives. Plot is "a very human and not very 'scientific' mixture of material causes, aims, and chances—a slice of life, in short."[29]

Veyne offers no shortcuts, no hidden tropical structures, no methodological pretensions. He strives to rob strangeness from the historian's task, to remind historians they are privileged and burdened with work in a "real, concrete world, peopled with things, animals and men, in which men do and will, but do not do all they will."[30] Ultimately, Veyne wants to provoke the historian into grappling with the rich plot that is life.

THE NATURE OF EXPLANATION

A fundamental question in the philosophy of history has been whether explanations in history can be compared to those in the natural sciences. In 1945, Carl G. Hempel proposed that explana-

25. White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 60.
26. Veyne, *Writing History*, 31.
27. Veyne, *Writing History*, 33, 87–88.
28. Veyne, *Writing History*, 105–7.
29. Veyne, *Writing History*, 32.
30. Veyne, *Writing History*, 105.

tions—in history as well as the natural sciences—presuppose "covering laws" and that ultimately the humanities would find unity with science.[31]

But only a decade or so after Hempel's influential article, the philosophy of science itself was transformed by two books, N.R. Hanson's *Patterns of Discovery* and Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.[32] With these books, science was portrayed in terms usually associated with the humanities, terms of understanding and interpretation. Historical explanation again was in flux. And in 1960, working in the same tradition as Hanson and Kuhn, the philosopher Arthur Danto published the article "Narrative Sentences," which eventually led to the book *Analytical Philosophy of History*, one of the early attempts to use narrative to explain explanation in history.[33]

Danto, in *Narration and Knowledge*, has recently updated and reworked his thinking. Narrative still is essential. "Narration exemplifies one of the basic ways in which we represent the world," he says. "The language of beginnings and endings, of turning points and crises and climaxes, is complicated with this mode of representation to so great a degree that our image of our own lives must be deeply narrational."[34]

For Danto then, narrative and explanation are firmly entwined; indeed, he says, narrative already is "a *form* of explanation." Danto's goal is to explore why. He finds explanation inherent in the nature of "narrative sentences." These are sentences that "make essential reference to events later in time than the events they are about;" that is, "sentences the truth of which entails that at least two time-separated events have happened."[35]

For example, "Washington became first president of the United States," entails not only the advent of Washington but also the advent of at least another president. Another example: "In 1743, the author of the Declaration of Independence was born," describes the birth of Jefferson in light of subsequent events. Verbs such as "began," "preceded," "provoked," and "gave rise to" ensure a narrative sentence.

Danto is interested in these sentences because he feels explanations are *built into* the very language that historians use. Often these sentences offer explanations of change: "The description makes an implicit reference to a *past* state of the subject of

31. Carl G. Hempel, "The Function of General Laws in History," in *Theories of History*, ed. Patrick Gardiner (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), 344–55.
32. N.R. Hanson, *Patterns of Discovery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958); Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
33. *Analytical Philosophy of History* was revised and republished as Arthur C. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
34. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge*, xiii.
35. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge*, 201, xii, 293; for a full discussion of narrative sentences see 143–81.

change."[36] For example, "The article is finished" implies an earlier state when the article was not finished.

He draws a number of implications from these insights. First, he says it is a "misguided lament" for historians to complain they cannot know events as a witness might have. "For the whole point of history is *not* to know about actions as witnesses might, but as historians do, in connection with later events and as parts of temporal wholes."[37]

Second, he says that narrative sentences provide support for the argument that the definitive explanation of the past is not to be forthcoming—"because earlier events will continue to receive differing descriptions through the relations in which they stand to events later in time than themselves."[38] The future is open and thus so is the past.

Albert Cook also takes up the question of explanation in history. *History/Writing* focuses on individual historiographers from a variety of cultures, including Thucydides, Machiavelli, Burckhardt, and Michelet, as well as scriptural and philosophical historians. Cook's theme is stated laboriously in the introduction: "What the commanding historians of the past, remote and recent, have written constitutes a set of texts, of multiply coded verbal constructs that seem in certain ways to exceed the demands of the claim to validity by means initially of veracity to evidence and then to a sense behind all the evidence so concatenated."[39]

What Cook wants to say is that major works of history make up a kind of literature. These works claim explanation and validity not only by their use of evidence but by their acceptance as part of that literature. As Kuhn showed so well, research is a process of negotiation, a subjective enterprise of interaction among researchers.

From this perspective, Cook argues that explanation in history operates under two "constraints." The first constraint is the ever-present difficulty of inquiry. The historian must gather evidence and then use this evidence to explain actions of the past.[40] For example, Thucydides must uncover and gather information from a variety of sources to set down an account of the Peloponnesian War. The second constraint is more subtle. The historian, Cook says, must write within the context of other histories as well as the genre and canon of history.[41] Thucydides,

36. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge*, 233.
37. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge*, 183.
38. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge*, 340.
39. Cook, *History/Writing*, 1.
40. Cook, *History/Writing*, 16.
41. Cook, *History/Writing*, 1, 16. Michel de Certeau echoes this thought. He sees the writing of history as "the product of a place." He asks: "What is a 'valued work' in history? It is a work recognized as such by peers, a work that can be situated within an operative set, a work that represents some progress in respect to the current status of historical 'objects' and methods, and one that, bound to

with some exasperation, must separate myth from reality in Herodotus and also deal with discrepancies among the accounts of himself, Herodotus, and Homer.

Throughout his historiography, Cook shows how these constraints paradoxically *enable* the historian to construct explanations in history. Like Ricoeur, whose views are discussed below, Cook finds explanation always to be tied to temporal considerations. The historian works not only to present a temporal sequence of events but *to be part of* a temporal sequence of historians writing about these events.[42]

Much of Clifford Geertz's work too has focused on the problems of explanation. In *Local Knowledge*, Geertz returns to themes set forth so eloquently in his important work, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, themes of particular significance for journalism historians; his goal is "an attempt somehow to understand how it is we understand understandings not our own."[43]

The opening essay, "Blurred Genres," especially can aid those contemplating the role of narrative theory in journalism history. In this essay, Geertz explores the relationship between the humanities and social sciences. Indeed, as his title indicates, he questions the divisions between and within the two.

He finds that "something is happening to the way we think about the way we think" and that, more specifically, the nature of explanation is undergoing change. "Many social scientists have turned away from a laws and instances ideal of explanation toward a cases and interpretation one," he writes, "looking less for the sort of thing that connects planets and pendulums and more for the sort that connects chrysanthemums and swords."[44]

Freed from "dreams of social physics—covering laws, unified science, operationalism, and all that," the social scientists turn, hats in hands, to the humanities.[45] What the social scientists find, Geertz suggests, are the humanities turning, hats in hands, to one another.

All this turning is of the greatest significance to Geertz. He finds most interesting not where the ferment will end but what it may mean. And what it may mean, he says, is a challenge to traditional social science and its obsession with theories, data, laws, and brute facts. He sees instead "the refiguration of social thought" and "a sea change not so much of what knowledge is but of what it is we want to know."[46]

Finally, Geertz seems to be reconsidering Dilthey's age-old distinction between understanding and explanation. He strives

the milieu in which it has been elaborated, in turn makes new research possible." Certeau, *Writing of History*, 64.

42. Cook, *History/Writing*, 204.

43. Geertz, "Blurred Genres," 5; also see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic, 1973), 3–30.

44. Geertz, "Blurred Genres," 20, 19.

45. Geertz, "Blurred Genres," 23.

46. Geertz, "Blurred Genres," 34.

toward a time when "explanation comes to be regarded as a matter of connecting action to sense," when explanation *is* understanding.[47]

TIME AND NARRATIVE

Intimately connected to the study of history as narrative is an understanding of time. Time, after all, provides meaning and movement to history, narrative, and the experience of life itself.

Donald E. Polkinghorne, In *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences,* brings the perspective of a psychologist to the study of human existence and narrative. His primary concern is to offer narrative as a research alternative to social science designs. He shows that much research—clinical life histories, organizational case consultations, studies in corporate culture, psychoanalytic biographies—are founded upon narrative. In showing the *practicality* of narrative research, concentrating especially on history, literature, and psychology, Polkinghorne's larger aims are to locate narrative as an integral aspect of being human.[48]

His study of history and narrative especially develops this theme. He provides a basic, if overly simple, discussion of the tides that have moved history in this century, including the influence of Dilthey's work in hermeneutics, the "covering law" debate, the challenge of French historiography, and finally the insights of narrative discourse, focusing specifically on the work of the philosopher Paul Ricoeur.

Polkinghorne's contribution to the literature on narrative is to add support from psychology for Ricoeur's insights into narrative and the human experience of time. "Ricoeur has deepened the examination of narrative and, instead of simply considering narrative as a special historical explanatory mode, has found it to be a life form that has functioned as part of human existence to configure experience into a unified process."[49]

As Polkinghorne demonstrates, Ricoeur's work is assuming great prominence in narrative theory. Working primarily in phenomenological hermeneutics, Ricoeur is concerned with the convergence of time, experience, and interpretation. In *Time and Narrative,* Ricoeur uses the varied forms of narrative—mythic, historical, and fictional—to explore this convergence.

His main thesis is of great interest to historians: "Time becomes human time to the extent that it is organized after the manner of a narrative; narrative, in turn, is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal experience."[50]

Those familiar with Ricoeur's previous works in interpreta-

47. Geertz, "Blurred Genres," 34.
48. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences,* 125–55.
49. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences,* 69.
50. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:3. Volume 1 is devoted to the temporal experience of historical narrative. Volume 2, while most concerned with fiction, still is of interest as it draws numerous comparisons and distinctions between fictional and historical narratives.

tion theory will recognize his scholarly *modus operandi.* After introducing his subject, Ricoeur reviews hundreds of major and minor works on the topic. He finds some strength in each work but also locates the unanswered questions that his own work will try to comprehend. A Ricoeur book is a generous, if exhausting, feat of scholarship.

Time and Narrative begins with an exploration of plot. Although Ricoeur considers the work of numerous historians, including White, Veyne, and Cook, his primary thrust is much broader: Ricoeur sees in plot the reconfiguration of human time. He confronts Aristotle's distinction between *mythos*—usually thought of as the plot, the set of events in a story—and *mimesis*—the imitation or representation of an action. By the third chapter of volume 1, Ricoeur has reinterpreted Aristotle, joined mythos and mimesis, and distinguished three senses of mimesis: 1) the preunderstanding writers and readers have of the order of action; 2) the transformation—or emplotment—of events into a composition; 3) the person's experience as his or her preunderstanding meets his or her understanding of the composition.[51] Historians' conceptions of plot, Ricoeur notes, often center on only the second sense of mimesis. He wants to broaden and extend the notion of plot.

Ricoeur expends the effort because eventually he finds in plot a key to life. Plot is one of the important ways humans give order and meaning to experience in time. "I see in the plots we invent," he says, "the privileged means by which we reconfigure our confused, unformed, and at the limit mute temporal experience."[52]

Plots in historical narratives, it appears, have an exceedingly complex relationship with time because they are a part of the historical past, the historian's present, and ultimately the reader's future. To further explore how plots can do this, Ricoeur studies the relationship between time and events—the stuff of plots. Like Paul Veyne, Ricoeur believes the historical event must be not only what happens but what can be narrated; an event is an element of a plot. Yet through his complex notion of plot, Ricoeur recognizes events across all three senses of mimesis, "to all the levels and their various functions."[53]

First, events in some ways exist before the plot; they are *probable,* prefigured in advance. Ricoeur accepts the notion, put

51. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:45–51; also see 1:52–87. This third sense of mimesis is similar to notions of "the appropriation of the text world" expounded in Ricoeur's theory of hermeneutic interpretation. See Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976); also see Paul Ricoeur, "The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text," in Rabinow and Sullivan, *Interpretive Social Science,* 73–101.

52. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:xi.

53. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:217. Ricoeur limits his discussion here to plots in historical narratives. The various "metamorphoses" of the plot in fictional narratives are analyzed in *Time and Narrative* 2:7–28.

forth most forcefully by Hayden White, that historians approach the past with a preunderstanding of an available repertoire of plots and events. Second, events are part of the composition; this is the traditional perspective on events—they provide a sequence of happenings in narrative. Third, events are understood by readers and spectators in a moment that unites all three levels; readers experience what Aristotle called *metabole*. "An event, once again, is not only what contributes to the unfolding of a plot but what gives it the dramatic form of a change in fortune," Ricoeur concludes.[54]

This almost obsessively complex definition of events was necessary to Ricoeur so that the concept could withstand the weight of his analysis. "The notion of event had to lose its usual qualities of brevity and suddenness," he says, "in order to measure up to the discordances and ruptures that punctuate the life of economic, social, and ideological structures of an individual society."[55]

Through such sophisticated conceptions of plots and events, Ricoeur explores the experience of time through narrative—or more specifically, the relation between the time of narrative and the time of phenomenological experience. His larger motives are to recast and reinvigorate the place of narrative and in some ways restore the dignity and status of the "maker of plots."[56]

Historians share in this restored status in Ricoeur's work. Like all writers, the historian performs the remarkable: The historian brings order to chaos, concordance to discordance, and gives meaning to that which had none. The giver of meaning, the maker of plots, Ricoeur says, can "make the intelligible spring from the accidental, the universal from the singular, the necessary or probable from the episodic."[57]

THE STORY OF STORY

The works reviewed here attest to the importance of narrative theory for work in history. Through specific themes, such as the historical event, the story and plot, the nature of explanation, and time and narrative, the historian can find a new perspective on matters often left assumed or unexamined.

Work in narrative has particular implications for journalism historians. Clearly, it provides an alternative approach to our subject, especially focusing our attention on the way in which narrative strategies and conventions shape interpretations of journalistic events. For example, why have certain events, such as the Zenger trial, attained such status in our literature? Narra-

54. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:224–25.
55. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:230.
56. Even in the turbulent world of modern fiction, Ricoeur says, "the narrative function can still be metamorphosed, but not so as to die. For we have no idea of what a culture would be where no one any longer knew what it meant to narrate things." *Time and Narrative* 2:28.
57. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:41.

tive theory suggests that events are not discrete happenings but constructions and projections of historians, and that events such as the Zenger trial are used by historians to construct larger stories, such as the development of U.S. press freedom.

Further, narrative theory argues that such stories prefigure the material and are brought to the record by historians. The stories thus unavoidably structure and guide the selection and handling of material. Too, narrative theory suggests that those stories are often built upon the work of other journalism historians. For example, the developmental or Whig interpretation of journalism history can be seen as one story that long structured work in the field.

Journalism historians can also benefit from narrative focus upon the form—as well as the content—of their own writing. In some way, this echoes the traditional question surrounding narrative in history: What is the appropriate form in which to do history? Narrative theory, however, recognizes convention, canon, form, and structure in all forms of historical writing. Perhaps within the ongoing discussion over research methods in journalism history, attention also can be paid to the methods by which this research attains written form.

"New questions demand not only new methods, but new forms of expression," writes Mark Phillips. "It is possible that these will arise without an apparent programme, but innovation is most likely to occur when historians have a self-conscious concern with the relationship between their methods and their 'mode of writing.'"[58]

Another implication: Narrative theory can remind journalism historians of the breadth and depth of their subject. Humans make sense of the world through story, as work in narrative affirms, and an important part of making sense of the world each day has been the news. Although certainly the news cannot be looked to for dependable, veridical accounts of social life, the news tells stories that offer insights into writers, editors, institutions, cultures, and eras.

Narrative theory can also demonstrate to journalism historians their peculiar relationship with time. Journalism's lust for the present, the new, has been displayed each day in the pages of the press. Long after, journalism historians come to those pages, that present, bringing with them another dimension of time. And this time has its own experience. From our present, we view their present; we label a report inaccurate; we see part of a larger body of work; we see an exemplar of an era; we see distinct patterns of coverage. We can do all this because we have time. The two experiences of time—the supercharged now of the news and the steady, studied present of the historian—provide part of the tension and power of work in journalism history.

58. Phillips, "Revival of Narrative," 162.

And, even more broadly, narrative theory provides a sense of the essentiality of that work. More than any other, the historian is charged with chronicling human story. And much of the story still goes untold. The weak and defeated especially, who had not the power or place to leave a trace, need their story told if the story is to continue. More than any other, the historian is charged by narrative theory with asking questions long unasked, comprehending matters long forgotten, telling stories as yet untold. According to Ricoeur, "We tell stories because in the last analysis human lives need and merit being narrated. This remark takes on its full force when we refer to the necessity to save the history of the defeated and the lost. The whole history of suffering cries out for vengeance and calls for narrative."[59]

As the human story evolves, as humans grapple with conditions of human making, they may find the ability to comprehend these conditions through story. Perhaps through narrative, through telling the story, historians can ensure that the Earth will not have to go on without story.

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59. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1:75.

CURRENT RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF READING

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A COUPLE OF decades ago, the sub-discipline of intellectual history encountered two massive obstacles, two sets of questions that threatened to undermine its legitimacy. One came from an empirical impulse: for a generation, intellectual historians had comfortably generalized about ideas (which supposedly had some existence of their own, divorced from whatever uses they were put to) and the contexts that impinged on them—climates of opinion, national characters, and so forth. This language had a comfortable fuzziness about it, but critics saw that it lacked rigor.

Beginning in the sixties but climaxing only in the eighties, then, historians traded in their old terms for new ones that were situated more tightly in theory: *ideology*, *hegemony*, *discourse*, and the like, terms that are fuzzy not because they abjure rigor but because they are contested. Historians were forced to grapple with the grounding of ideas in contexts that were not themselves intellectual: social structure, productive activities, and, most frighteningly, language. Things have not been the same since.

Allied with this theoretical challenge to intellectual history was one more political. Intellectual historians had usually studied "refined" thought: the works of the great writers and thinkers. But this implied that "ordinary" people—the "inarticulate," as they came to be called in the sixties—had no culture, or worse, had culture only insofar as they read and appreciated Whitman, James, Dewey, and others. Intellectual historians were challenged to abandon the great books and consult the culture of the people, the culture of the marketplace, and local and regional ethnic and racial cultures.

Several new approaches appeared at this intersection of intellectual and social history. One was the history of education, conceived broadly as the history of cultural transmission in the work of the late Lawrence Cremin, understood as a technique of social control by Michael Katz and others. Allied with the history of education was the history of literacy.

Historians of literacy began with the simple empirical question of the extent of literacy. By consulting legal documents and petitions, they calculated what percentage of the population could sign their own names, and by correlating this information with class, gender, and occupation, they constructed a rough sketch of the (changing) segment of society that had uses for literacy. Inevitably, though, questions were raised about the connections between literacy and status, mobility, and power; research began to call into question the assumption that the acquisition of literacy had a necessary correlation with individual mobility, modernization, and political democracy. In some cases, it was argued that the expansion of literacy was tied more closely to the expansion of state

Books Reviewed in This Essay

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER: THE DIFFUSION OF INFORMATION IN EARLY AMERICA, 1700–1865. By Richard D. Brown. Oxford University Press, 1989. 384 pp. $39.95, Cloth.

READING BECOMES A NECESSITY OF LIFE: MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE IN RURAL NEW ENGLAND, 1780–1835. By William J. Gilmore. University of Tennessee Press, 1989. 568 pp. $49.95, Cloth.

LITERACY AND POPULAR CULTURE: ENGLAND 1750–1914. By David Vincent. Cambridge University Press, 1989. 376 pp. $49.50, Cloth.

authority. Questions of power—Whose power? How does literacy empower?—have come to the fore in the study of the history of literacy, as in the study of culture generally.

These issues assume quite different aspects at the macro and micro levels. On the macro level, the crucial questions involve networks of production and distribution, national policies, and long-term trends like industrialization; on the micro level, the questions concern the ways in which discrete readers and communities of readers use specific texts.

In this essay I review three recent books that study literacy in different but complementary ways. David Vincent's *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750–1914* explores the century and a half in which literacy became universal in England, with a special concern for its place in the lives of the working class. Richard Brown's *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* takes a similarly broad point of view, dealing with an entire nation for a century and a half. Finally, William Gilmore's *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835* takes a more precise focus on a half-century of development in the Upper Valley of the Connecticut River.

Though diverse in topic and approach, all three studies share a common concern. They all examine the Anglo-American world at the time of the early-nineteenth-century creation of a particular communications environment, one characterized by general literacy, an abundant supply of printed material, and the development of extensive (rather than intensive) styles of reading. Economically, this coincided with the transportation revolution, the expansion of market transactions, and the beginning of the industrial revolution; politically, it coincided with the "democratic revolutions": in the U.S., the rise of Jacksonian politics; and in England, Chartism. This conjuncture of revolutionary changes is compared explicitly or implicitly in all three books to the late-twentieth-century development of electronic communications with its accompanying second industrial revolution. Also implied in each work is an attitude toward technological determinance in communications history.

Vincent's *Literacy and Popular Culture* uses as its empirical base literacy statistics derived from signatures on marriage certificates. From this grounding, Vincent constructs a chronology of the spread of literacy; but this is just a starting point, for the meaning of this chronology is far from self-evident. Rather, he begins with the premise "that the consequences of the coming of mass literacy in England must be sought in the diverse areas of activity in which the skills of reading and writing were practised."(xi) This is to say that the meaning of literacy is rooted in its uses and is not an autonomous effect of the technology of reading and writing. He therefore chooses six areas of activity to discuss: family, education, work, the natural world, the imagination, and politics, and devotes a chapter to each.

In each chapter, Vincent starts with a piece of conventional wisdom and then calls it into question. In the chapter on education, for instance, he begins by challenging the notion that massive state-sponsored education was primarily responsible for the spread of literacy among the working class. He suggests instead that "the foundation for the eventual victory [of literacy] was laid not in the schoolroom but in the working-class family."(54) Implied is a critique of two relatively simple moral narratives about the spread of literacy: one, that it empowered the people and equipped them for democracy; the other, that it was a tool of social control. In Vincent's subsequent discussion of schooling, literacy emerges as a function of a long-standing contest over the control of education between working-class families and the representatives of organized religion and the state. "Reading and writing came to be the principal currency of exchange in the long-running negotiation between parents and teachers."(54)

The same approach is apparent in other areas of activities. In the workplace, workers and managers, organized labor and capital, competed for control, with each invoking literate and oral practices as the situation warranted. In his analysis here, Vincent challenges two simple arguments: one, that literacy was a precondition for industrialization; the other, that industrialization occurred at the expense of popular literacy. Again, the technology of the written word was coded by different groups in different ways for different purposes; again, the emphasis is on the uses of literacy.

Vincent's comments in each area of activity are rich in detail and interpretation. Occasionally, the narrative takes unexpected turns. In the discussion of family, Vincent examines the importance of the penny post in maintaining ties across distances, noting that cheap postage was of much greater benefit to the middle than the working class, but also had the unintentional effect of producing the Valentine's Day card, the Christmas card, and the postcard, which became popular among working-class families. His discussion of politics includes rich commentary on the press, in which he notes that, in Chartism, the press flourished while organization lagged, partly due to unequal state intervention: the government tolerated printed dissent, but vigorously opposed "seditious" clubs and parties. Eventually, the working-class press, lacking organizational support, yielded to the forces of commercialization, until, with the Harmsworth (Northcliffe) papers, "news [became] simply a means of keeping the advertisements apart." (253)

Ultimately, underlying all of the contradictions and ironies that Vincent calls attention to is an overarching movement from heterogeneity to incoherence. The long view is one of the atomization of working-class families and communities into individuals in the workplace, the marketplace, and politics; the long trend is an increasing separation between all of these areas of activity. This history was not determined by "literacy" or by "commercialization," neither of which has autonomous existence, but by concrete interests working through the state, the churches, businesses, and the schools.

Literacy and Popular Culture should be read as a complement to three of the key works in the tradition of British cultural studies: E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (Gollancz , 1963), Raymond Williams's *The Long Revolution* (Chatto and Windus, 1961), and Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* (Chatto and Windus, 1957). Of these books, Vincent seems covertly engaged with Williams and Thompson, whom he cites but does not discuss; in his conclusion, however, he grapples briefly with Hoggart, arguing that he has presented the development of the working-class culture whose demise Hoggart anatomized and attributed to the forces of commercialization.

If Vincent calls to mind the first generation of British cultural studies, Gilmore is reminiscent of that branch of the French *Annales* tradition that gloried in intensive local studies. Reading Gilmore's book is like reading Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie's *Montaillou* in the intensity of its focus, as well as in the way the author teases meaning out of material life. Indeed, Gilmore borrows some of the techniques and vocabulary of the *Annalistes*, especially the concept of *mentalité*.

He also develops some concepts of his own, the most remarkable being "habitat." Gilmore characterizes habitat as a "middle-level" concept that integrates social, economic, and cultural factors. He defines it specifically as a "living situation," leaving in this definition "a historically accurate degree of ambiguity." (137–38) More specifically, he identifies five distinct habitats in the rural New England region he studies, based on physical environment, location within the transportation network, predominant occupation, wealth, market penetration, literacy, and *mentalité*. The five habitats he names "fortunate village," "fortunate farmstead," "self-suf-

ficient hamlet," "self-sufficient farmstead," and "hard- scrabble." Gilmore contends that the experience of reading was strongly inflected by habitat.

Habitat was not the only factor affecting literacy. Indeed, throughout the book, Gilmore refuses to reduce his analysis to a single level; continually, he gives lists of factors rather than arguing for the salience of one particular factor. Thus, in addition to habitat, he notes the importance of occupation, income, gender, and stage of life—a too frequently ignored consideration. At every point he is careful to integrate the social and the cultural.

At key moments, Gilmore captures with exceptional clarity a past in its concreteness. His description of the intensive reading of "hardscrabble" families is one such moment, as is his reconstruction of seasonal cycles in rural cultural life. His explanations of specific *mentalités*—the importance of the notion of "mending" to New Englanders, for instance, and his discussion of the emerging "spirit of fact"—also stand out. At other points he presents information with a thoroughness that could only be achieved after years of concentration on a specific area. His maps and charts of the changing social geography of the region are models for future studies. In the end, Gilmore gives us a complex, nuanced account of the emergence of the world's first truly literate rural society.

Yet this analysis leaves a few questions unasked. One that occurred to me involved consciousness and experience. One wonders, for instance, whether people conceived of themselves as living in a "self-sufficient hamlet?" Did they develop "habitat consciousness"? In general, it is not clear from Gilmore's account which factors were experienced by residents of the Upper Valley as significant, nor is it clear how consciousness fits into Gilmore's schemata.

One factor that seems to have been salient at the level of consciousness is artisanal status. This factor cut across lines of habitat, and Gilmore notes artisanal families as anomalies in his discussions of the reading habits of different habitats. Might not class—in the sense of a shared position in the productive process and not in the sense of income level (as Gilmore uses it in table 7-1, page 246)—have been as salient a factor as habitat?

Much of Gilmore's analysis is static. While he is attentive to change in general, and while his work does have an overarching narrative, in the sections where he discusses factors like occupation and habitat his categories seem to stand still in time. This is perhaps a wise choice, since adding the element of change over time would complicate an already complex discussion; but some readers will find themselves yearning for a chain of events. Gilmore does invoke familiar events: the religious revivals of the early nineteenth century, the contests between Federalists and Jeffersonians, and the War of 1812 are all cited. And, though he does not base his analysis on a narrative, and rather seems to emphasize the timeless and the generalizable, he does posit a fundamental change occurring within this period. This change is one from scarcity to abundance in print culture. By the end of the period under study, people in specific habitats were supplementing their (intensive) reading of the old steady-sellers with newer material that they read extensively—travel books, novels, and the like. (Here it is unfortunate that probate records—Gilmore's primary source for library information—contained so little information about newspaper readership.)

Oddly, the mood of the Upper Valley in this new era of abundance was not upbeat. Instead, Gilmore's study ends on a sad note, with local residents expressing a sense of disappointment at the failure of their region to blossom into the new world.

Richard D. Brown's *Knowledge Is Power* ends on a more optimistic note. Brown's title immediately calls to mind two thinkers: Francis Bacon, whose influence he acknowledges, and Michel Foucault. It quickly becomes clear to the reader that Brown is exploring the way individuals acquired knowl-

edge as a way of acquiring power—Bacon's notion—rather than the way power and knowledge are constructed together in discourses—Foucault's. Brown seems to view knowledge as a given, and power as one of its properties. But his story is not so simple, as we shall see.

Brown's method is to read diaries and decipher from them local networks of communication. The diaries he chooses are often familiar and always rich in detail—those of Samuel Sewall in colonial Boston, William Byrd II in colonial Virginia, John Adams during the Revolution, Fanny Kemble in the antebellum South. He finds in every instance that sources of information were dependent on position in society in terms of status, occupation, and gender. His discussions of specific situations will also be familiar to specialists: his New England resembles David Hall's, his Virginia Rhys Isaacs's, and his antebellum South Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's. This material is supplemented with a couple of chapters on information diffusion—one on port cities, one on "contagious diffusion" with crisis news—that draw on wider sources.

Throughout, Brown finds the expansion of print communication creating a constantly enlarging area of choice. At the end of his study—1865—he finds a society where abundance and choice have displaced older systems of privilege and hierarchy, a world in which knowledge is readily available and, one supposes, power as well. In the world of abundant print, social homogeneity has been shattered, along with the habits of consensus and deference, and a public sphere has emerged to displace the old order of privileged personal political communication.

The world of print did not benefit everyone in the same way, however. Indeed, in Brown's most compelling chapter, he discusses the dimension of gender and the persistence of the notion of a woman's sphere. He notes that this idea of a realm of special power for women was a two-edged sword: it both enhanced their status in home and church and eliminated them from politics and the marketplace. In the world of print, it steered women away from worldly matter and into a continent of sentiment and piety. In this case, print disempowered too: the reader of sentimental fiction did not belong in the world of government.

The experience of women alerts us to the continued operation of power in the world of abundant print. And, while Brown is not unaware of this problem, he devotes rather little attention to it. What emerged was not just a flood of printed material, but a popular culture in print, complete with sets of aesthetic, moral, and social values. This culture empowered some and disempowered others, just as colonial culture had. The disappearance of one kind of hierarchy signalled also the appearance of another, one that might not appear in consumers' accounts—like diaries—but might have to be inferred from the supply-side—networks of production and distribution, genres of literature, recurring motifs, the professionalization of knowledge. Brown's excellent account of Bacon's spiritual grandchildren awaits a counterpart.

These three books, and the trend in intellectual history, social history, and the history of communications that they represent, should find a wide readership among scholars of journalism. They take aim at a target that journalism historians too often ignore—the public or the market or the audience for the printed word. In Gilmore's careful conclusions and Vincent's unexpected contradictions and Brown's thoughtful portraits are lessons of significance for historians of the press.

Ultimately, all three books call into question simple versions of the past. Most obviously, they reject a notion of linear progress, in which ignorance is gradually dispelled over time by information technologies. All of the social worlds described in these books are real worlds, not just the childhood stages of modernity. Similarly, all three books call into question simple notions of technological determinism. The printed word was not a single entity, but assumed

different aspects when employed in different ways by different people. While all these books are attentive to the specific characteristics of print culture in the contexts depicted, all are also careful not to attribute autonomous causality to print.

Finally, all three books give us reason to doubt the image of the age of reading found in books like Neil Postman's *Amusing Ourselves to Death*. While literacy spread in the nineteenth century, it did not produce a golden age of independent rational readers who attended publicly to long and complex arguments. The literate public of the nineteenth century was segmented along lines of class, occupation, gender, race, and habitat; they read for self-interest as well as public interest, and their reading material was more likely a chapbook or a romance than a speech of Daniel Webster. Some—especially newspaper editors—fantasized in print about a public of Enlightenment men, and occasionally historians are tempted to posit such a public. The temptation should be resisted; the fantasy should instead be interrogated for the interests it concealed.

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THE CAROLINGIANS AND THE WRITTEN WORD.
By Rosamund McKitterick.
• Cambridge University Press
• 1989, 296 pp.
• $54.50, Cloth; $17.95, Paper

THE GAP SEPARATING nineteenth-century America, with its widespread literacy and populist press, from Carolingian society in the eighth and ninth centuries, is a wide one. This is as true of the methodology of scholars who study these respective periods as it is of the contents of their written documents. Yet as Rosamund McKitterick makes clear in *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, a meticulously crafted work of scholarship, the ties binding the two cultures are not insignificant.

Literacy is a prominent feature of both, a given for nineteenth-century America, a problematic for the remote Carolingian world. Indirectly McKitterick pulls the two together. She demonstrates how the Carolingians linked the previous Latin-based Roman world with the later medieval period, when Western European culture seemed to revive as if from a deep sleep. Henri Pirenne and other eminent historians have argued for a decline of the written word during these centuries. McKitterick, a self-proclaimed maximalist, uses the limited evidence available to trace an evolutionary pattern in the eighth and ninth centuries, from "memory to written record." She demonstrates convincingly how central writing and literacy were to many aspects of Carolingian culture.

The evidence available to her would not satisfy a historian of popular journalism. Nor, to be honest, is she entirely persuasive when she maintains that literacy was not limited to an "elite" during these centuries. By her very own definition, the non-elite consisted of wealthy, powerful "nobles." Yet Carolingian scholars must deal with probabilities rather than likelihoods, and within these limitations it is difficult to conceive of anyone doing a better job of reconstruction than McKitterick. She takes the available evidence—charters, laws, monastic records, poetry, manuscripts, administrative documents—and shows how they add up to a literacy pervasive on many social levels. Quantitatively such evidence is thin. Structurally it is convincing because of its breadth and variety.

The fascination of this book for a historian of modern journalism will likely rest as much on its incidental pleasures as on the validity of McKitterick's conclusions. She casts a spotlight on many aspects of Carolingian society: the economics of the book trade, readership, the ways in which government made use of literacy in a world vastly less complex than our own, the interaction between religion and secular life in generating texts. There were no

Pulitzers or Northcliffes visible in the eighth and ninth centuries. But obscure monks in communities like St. Gall, near Lake Constance, and scribes and notaries in urban centers like Zurich are closer to our own time than we might on the face of it be prepared to concede.

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THE BLACK PRESS, U.S.A.
By Roland E. Wolseley.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1989, 416 pp., 2d ed.
• $39.95, Cloth; $19.95, Paper

ROLAND WOLSELEY has produced fifteen chapters of important information on the black press and its editors in the second edition of *The Black Press, U.S.A.* Unfortunately the book is sixteen chapters.

After a very rough start, in which he agonizes over the question of a white man writing about the black press, Wolseley recovers with a concise look at the history of the press, the press today, short biographies of important journalists and journalism educators, and comments on the quality and future of the press.

The new edition follows the format of its 1971 predecessor with most chapter names unchanged. Almost 100 additional pages provide updated information and more illustrations. The quality of the illustrations is greatly improved. Highlights include a summary of the rise and fall of the *National Leader*, a national weekly launched in 1982, the same year as *USA Today*. One of the better biographies is that of Susan L. Taylor. She visited *Essence* magazine in 1971 trying to sell her cosmetics line, and was hired as a part-time beauty writer. Within a decade she had become editor-in-chief of a financially successful, socially conscious publication aimed at black women.

The quick sketches make this book a good source for those with limited knowledge of the black press, and for those who want to learn more about important individuals and publications. But there are major problems with Wolseley's volume.

The first problem is the truly unfortunate tone of the front matter and first chapter. In the foreword, Wolseley's former student, Robert E. Johnson, now executive editor of *Jet* magazine, takes the blame for the lack of a black author writing the comprehensive work on the black press. (The statement is reprinted from the first edition.) In the preface Wolseley brings up concerns about his perspective and attempts, unsuccessfully, to counter critics.

Things further fall apart in chapter 1, which contains a number of chauvinistic or outdated sections. Wolseley vaguely suggests that the existence of the 167-year-old black press must be established; he claims that blacks are turning away from black media, according to the observations of whites; and he concludes with the quote, "Without the black press, the black man would not know who he is," a regretable comment, unredeemed by the fact that it was made by a black. The passage on whether the press should be called "black, Negro, or colored" was outdated in the first edition.

Mercifully the chapter ends and Wolseley gains surer footing in his survey of history. A glaring omission is the failure to incorporate the findings of Henry Lewis Suggs's important work, *The Black Press in the South, 1865–1979*. Wolseley's sweeping approach touches on major papers, but an understanding of the press would be enhanced by combining comments on the regional press and local papers. Suggs's research provides such information.

Another shortcoming is the author's segregating of female journalists. A section on the early years of the press concludes with a passage on female journalists of the period. A chapter on modern journalists provides thirty-eight pages of brief biographies followed by eleven pages on "Today's Female Journalists." Even a discussion of available books on journalists omits publications on women, notably Alfreda Duster's fine work on her mother, Ida B. Wells-Barnett.

Finally the exploration of the press's current and fu-

ture state seems mired in past concerns about militancy and integration, as opposed to addressing recent factors such as the availability of desktop publishing, and the growth in community journalism, as well as potential links with other minorities, particularly the Latino press. Only a few sentences discuss these matters.

The underlying, discomforting aspect of this book is that it is like a white approaching a black at a cocktail party. Conversationally the white inquires about the black's position and background. On the surface all is casual and well-meaning, but the directness of questions reveals that the white is really asking: Who are you? Do you deserve to be here with us? Are you worth considering?

Wolseley seeks to answer similar questions about the black press. At worst the effort fumbles. At best he provides a concise volume about an important form of American journalism.

... Karen F. Brown
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THE COLOR OF THE SKY: A STUDY OF STEPHEN CRANE.
By David Halliburton.
• Cambridge University Press
• 1989, 336 pp.
• $37.50, Paper

STEPHEN CRANE'S journalism and his experience as a reporter and foreign correspondent have not received the kind of thorough investigation and assessment that would properly place the man and his work within the context of journalism history. Published research on Crane's journalism has primarily come from literary critics and scholars who usually consider Crane's journalism as a small part of an overall study of his writing. Such is the case with *The Color of the Sky*.

Although this book by David Halliburton of Stanford's Department of English promises to look at Crane's complete writings, including the "newswriting," only a small amount of Crane's journalism is given more than a mention. Among the pieces discussed are some of Crane's better known articles: "The Broken-Down Van" and "The 'Tenderloin' As It Really Is," both of which Halliburton calls "studies in local color," and "An Experiment in Misery," "An Experiment in Luxury," "Stephen Crane's Own Story," "Men in the Storm," and several of the Cuban dispatches. But Halliburton's concerns are not with the quality or kind of journalism Crane practiced; his contentions and conclusion relate to Crane the writer, Crane the literary giant.

When Halliburton does consider Crane's journalism, he uses the articles that nicely fit the patterns that he identifies in Crane's writing, whether fiction or nonfiction. For example, Halliburton undertakes throughout the book to define and delineate Crane's "typological imagination," that is, Crane's tendency to capture and depict society's broad types rather than particular individuals. In his introduction he states: "Crane's formative years as a reporter could only have reinforced whatever native disposition he had for nosing out all manner of typicalities—in the pageant of American life." And that is one way he uses the journalism: to demonstrate Crane's use of types to interpret American society.

On the other hand, Halliburton, like other literary historians and critics before him, accepts as a given that Crane was a "reporter," a claim that at least needs some qualification if not reassessment.

Many of Halliburton's comments and observations indicate that Crane's journalism often had a quality that separated it from much of mainstream journalism. Those who would argue that Crane's journalism should be treated as literary journalism, as it has been defined over the past decade, will find strands of support here. Halliburton perceives in Crane's journalism patterns of meaning that reveal a subjective cultural interpretation central to literary journalism.

Halliburton's reference to "a melange of streetwise descriptiveness, dramatic miniatures, and mood-inducing changes of pace" in Crane's newspaper articles,

his contention that Crane's writing depicts the "human condition," his acknowledgment that several of the journalistic sketches "lay stronger claim to narrative interest" while showing "Crane's instinct for storytelling" all suggest a literary journalistic connection. But these connections are not explored.

The Color of the Sky is must reading for anyone interested in Crane the writer. Those interested in the cultural history of the late nineteenth century will also find much of merit in Halliburton's discussion. But those looking for an interpretation of Crane's journalism would be better off looking to previous studies (by R.W. Stallman, Bernard Weinstein, and Alan Trachtenberg, for example) until a more thorough and definitive study is published.

. . . Thomas B. Connery
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REPORTING THE COUNTERCULTURE.
By Richard Goldstein.
• Unwin Hyman
• 1989, 173 pp.
• $34.95, Cloth; $14.95, Paper

IN HIS INTRODUCTION to this collection of vignettes about music and cultural politics circa 1966–70, Richard Goldstein begins with a comment on the afterlife of sixties' artifacts. On the same day he had stuffed an old tie-dyed shirt back into his bureau drawer, he saw a sitcom character wearing a similar tie-dye. Nor was that the only evidence of a fascination with the expressive style of twenty years ago. But Goldstein took seriously the lesson of the current vogue of recuperating hippie culture, including couture, into a brand new mythology. If television characters now wear tie-dyes, why not recycle some of his own articles and columns?

In 1966 Goldstein had taken his masters degree in journalism straight to the rock 'n' roll beat at the *Village Voice*, where he is now a senior editor. His book, the fifth in Unwin Hyman's Media and Popular Culture series, collects (after only minor editing) over two dozen of his pieces, primarily from the *Village Voice*. The first set features music, looking at Mick Jagger, Tiny Tim, Ravi Shankar, and others who lived or tried to live in the music world. Some of the most effective pieces here center on the lesser knowns, the followers and amateurs. The opening selection, for example, profiles a fourteen-year-old would-be Brian Jones, proud of his $8.95 hound's-tooth hip-hugging bell bottoms, which make him look "hung." Two other sections (labelled "The Mystique" and "The Madness," respectively) deal with various sixties cultural phenomena and hauntingly brief eruptions of political passion and protests.

One could not reconstruct a complete history from these shards; on the other hand, they excavate what may be a rather typical passage from joy and delight in the energy and exuberance of the sixties sensibility, to doubt and disgust over its commercialization and commodification. It ends finally, if predictably, in cynicism, when Goldstein goes to the Algonquin Hotel to rap with the Fish about revolution and life at the barricades. Country Joe apparently snickers, before going off to brush his teeth, "There isn't going to be any revolution. Let's be realistic."

Goldstein characterizes the subtext of these dispatches as "the struggle for subjectivity"; he sees them as examples of his own experiments with the forms and premises of New Journalism, or at least one version of it. He suggests in the introduction that the point of the experiment was to allow for direct communication of reader and writer, with full interplay of subjectivities; he claims to lack Tom Wolfe's ability to maintain a tone of detached amusement. These pieces may not be personal enough, however. They substitute hip irony for intense probing of pain or anger, his own or others'. His suggestion that the *Voice* engaged in little editing twenty years ago seems insufficient defense of his acceptance of sass and surface cleverness, punctuated by appalling puns.

Nor is it always clear

where Goldstein stood while researching those articles about the mutual exploitation and cooperation of pop personalities and reporters. One column about Toronto hippies mocks the broadcast reporter who ordered a local hippie to undress and dress again for benefit of cameramen. But this piece fails to mention where the author was; the "I" is missing. And while no one can fault Goldstein for his politics, the issue may be whether he uses the Vaseline he brought to the 1968 Democratic Convention not only to protect himself from tear gas but also from his own unexamined assumptions and status. Admitting that his psyche demands distance and the safety of a press card is different from examining that mindset.

Furthermore, it is not clear how (or why) these stories might resonate for readers who grew up either before or after the sixties. On the other hand, the book successfully evokes the era for readers of Goldstein's generation. And the introduction raises a number of provocative and significant issues about the theory and practice of New Journalism and about continuing struggles to resist commodification, depersonalization, and homogenization.

. . . Linda Steiner
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A LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934.
Edited by Max Paglin.
• Oxford University Press
• 1990, 981 pp.
• $95, Cloth

TO CELEBRATE THE fiftieth anniversary of the Communications Act, the Golden Jubilee Commission on Telecommunications and the Federal Communications Bar Association sponsored this collection of essay and original documents on the 1934 statute.

The work includes essays by Glen O. Robinson, a former FCC Comissioner and professor of law at the University of Virginia, on the origins of radio regulation; Kenneth A. Cox, another former commissioner, and William J. Byrnes, on the act's common-carrier provisions; J. Roger Wollenberg on the statute's public interest clause; and Ronald A. Cass, professor of law at Boston University, on the Commission's original authority. These analyses are followed by reproductions of the Roper Report, which recommended the law, Senate and House committee hearings and reports, and floor debates on the legislation.

Anyone who has had to track down the congressional deliberations of 1934 will find *A Legislative History* a very welcome reference. It should prove especially valuable to those students who wish to study the legislation but lack the patience or competence for library research. The essays are well written and clear, though the authors, all trained in the law, define "legislative history" narrowly. That is, they consider court precedent and public debate and not the private manuevering that made the act ineffectual. Put differently, only the law library was visited. Recent work by historians, including studies by Philip Rosen and Robert W. McChesney, is not consulted.

Nevertheless, *A Legislative History* is well worth owning or having nearby in the college or departmental library.

. . . James L. Baughman
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JOURNALISM: STATE OF THE ART.
By Jim Willis.
• Greenwood
• 1989, 224 pp.
• $45, Cloth; $14.95, Paper

PROFESSOR WILLIS, coordinator of the news-editorial program at Ball State University, tells us in a preface that he has written a book that introduces journalism students and journalists to research in the field done in the 1980s. And, he says, it also introduces journalistic researchers and practitioners to each other. The first objective comes off well, but it is less certain that number two quite makes it, or

ever will, for that matter. Meanwhile, his book is both useful and sobering.

What he has done is really a simple proposition, one of those Why didn't I think of that? book ideas. It organizes some two hundred research studies published during the last decade, chiefly from the pages of *Journalism Quarterly* and the *Newspaper Research Journal*, and summarizes the findings in eight chapters. They include such topics as "The Journalist According to Research," "Polling and Precision Journalism," "Advertising in the 1980s," and "Electronic Publishing and Other Wonders," to name half the titles. The organization of the material is logical and the writing is clear, as clear as one can be in summarizing longer studies. A large body of research on journalism has come and gone in the last ten years, and it tells us more than a little about the threads that make up the fabric of U.S. journalism.

Willis has created a book with built-in utility. Whether it merits class adoption will be a tough call. Do you want a student to get the benefit of reading a complete study, or does the overview provided by Willis suffice? And, do we want to feed students (or ourselves) a diet limited to *JQ* and *NRJ*? This approach excludes studies published elsewhere that may illuminate research from the period.

Willis's prologue gives us "The River and The Plain: The Context of Journalistic Research," restating the issues dividing journalism research and educators on one side and the journalism profession on the other. The documented fact that not many journalists read scholarly publications should come as no surprise. A research journal is a research journal is a research journal. The studies are narrow, but *JQ*, for example, is designed as an academic smorgasbord of refereed manuscripts, not to be read like a Tom Clancy novel or *Editor and Publisher*. It's difficult to understand why we must continue to worry about whether or not research studies are useful. Nothing is so useful as a good theory or a stimulating piece of research, even if the usefulness is only in the mind of some readers.

Willis's epilogue collects short essays by journal editors and others about the state of journalism research, plus a Willis survey, all grouped under the title, "Researchers, Journalists and the Feud." The journalism educators remind us that at least some published research is "useful" and that journalism researchers are often engaged in research for practitioners. The split personality of journalism educators (David Weaver says we fall into four types) lets us know there are gaps within academe, as well as a gap between academe and practitioners. Willis's survey of 350 editors and executives reinforces, in a thoughtful and specific way, the notion that the gap exists.

The prologue and epilogue are a sobering opening and closing for the book, reminding us of the unsettled debate about academic research in a professional discipline. If you want to avoid being depressed, you may want to skip the debate and read only chapters 1 through 8.

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FCC: THE UPS AND DOWNS OF RADIO-TV REGULATION.
By William B. Ray.
• Iowa State University Press
• 1990, 214 pp.
• $24.95, Cloth

THE HISTORY OF broadcasting regulation in the United States has been quite tumultuous at times. At the center of events has been the Federal Communications Commission, established under the Communications Act of 1934 to succeed the Federal Radio Commission and charged with regulating broadcasting for the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

Since most members of the commission have been political appointees of presidents who knew nothing about communications law, the commissioners' interpretations of the regulations, and particularly of the concept of "public interest," have left

something to be desired. During some administrations the FCC has performed well, owing to the outstanding leadership of chairpersons such as Newton Minow, Dean Burch, and Richard Wiley. More often, however, political favoritism has marred the image of the commission. In fact, during the Reagan administration, the FCC literally abandoned the public interest guidelines in favor of a "free marketplace" concept and deregulation.

In his book, William Ray relates many incidents in the history of broadcasting regulation in which corruption, political maneuvering, and indecision adversely affected the rulings of the commission. As chief of the Complaints and Compliance Division of the FCC for seventeen years, Ray approaches this study as an authoritative insider with access to information not previously available. Before joining the FCC in 1961, Ray worked as a broadcast journalist for thirty years, part of that time as news director for NBC's midwestern division.

Ray divides his book into eight chapters that reflect the areas of his concern. Three chapters deal with specific issues in regulation: "News Distortion," "The FCC v. Obscene/Indecent Language," and "The Fairness Doctrine." Two others, "The Radio Medicine Men" and "The Radio Preachers," are basically early radio history, with a few exceptions, including an interesting discussion of a 1982 FCC decision involving evangelist Jim Bakker. The remainder, "Political Clout," "The FCC and Congress," and the final chapter, "The Reagan Commission: A National Disgrace," are concerned with the political influence of presidents and members of Congress on the workings of the FCC.

Each of the chapters includes discussions of several case histories related to the subject matter, some no more than a page long, a few eight or nine pages long. The case studies will be familiar to anyone who knows the history of broadcasting regulation, and many of the sources will be readily recognizable. However, the most valuable features of Ray's work are his analyses and criticism of the cases and his inclusion of previously unpublished facts regarding FCC decisions and decision making, based on his personal experiences as an FCC staff member. For example, Ray tells of several instances where the FCC commissioners voted against the recommendations of the hearing examiners even when the evidence was overwhelmingly on the side of the examiners. The onus was then placed on the staff counsel to write a rationale for the decision.

Ray's book is well-written and readable. He treats this serious subject with a sense of humor, except, perhaps, when discussing the Reagan commission. His book is a useful addition to the history of broadcasting regulation and an insightful guide to the workings of a government regulatory agency.

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